

NYPL RESEARCH LIBRARIES



3 3433 08254593 4

The
Gordon Lester Ford
Collection
Presented by his Sons
Worthington Chauncy Ford
and
Paul Leicester Ford
to the
New York Public Library.



AB





Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

THE

CHRISTIAN MONITOR.

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING
CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, PIETY

AND CHARITY,

》 》 》 》 》 》 》 》 》 》 》 》
 》 》 》 》 》 》 》 》 》 》 》 》
 》 》 》 》 》 》 》 》 》 》 》 》
 》 》 》 》 》 》 》 》 》 》 》 》

[illegible]

NEW SERIES—VOL. III.

BOSTON,
SAMUEL G. SIMPKINS.
1833.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
LIBRARY

2100
VOLUME

THE
BIOGRAPHY

OF DISTINGUISHED

REFORMERS,

AND

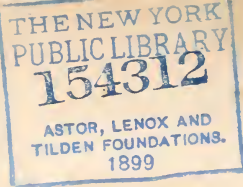
HISTORY "OF" THE REFORMATION

IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

FROM REES'S CYCLOPEDIA.

BOSTON,
SAMUEL G. SIMPKINS.

✓ 1833. 46,



THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

154312

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

BOSTON:
Samuel N. Dickinson, Printer,
52, Washington Street.

CONTENTS.

John Wickliffe.....	7
John Huss.....	20
Jerome of Prague.....	45
Martin Luther.....	62
Ulric Zuingle.....	141
John Calvin.....	162
The Reformation.....	173

CHRISTIAN MONITOR.

S. G. SIMPKINS, COURT-ST. BOSTON,

Is now publishing under the direction of the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Piety, and Charity," a series of books with the above title. Each volume will be complete of itself, and all of uniform size and binding, and afforded at a low price.

The following are already published, and may be had separately or together.

VOL. I.—The Nature and Design of a Christian Church. By the late REV. JOSEPH LATHROP, D. D., of West Springfield, Mass. Fourth Edition. With Remarks on the Lord's Supper, by another hand.

VOL. II.—Devotional Exercises, Prayers, and Hymns, more particularly designed for the use of Communicants, with a short Introduction on the Origin, Nature, and Obligation of the Lord's Supper.

VOL. III.—The Biography of Distinguished Reformers, and History of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century. From Rees's Cyclopaedia.

N. B. For the convenience of those who may not wish every volume of the series, a few copies of each will be bound without the first title-page, viz. : Christian Monitor.

JOHN WICKLIFFE.

JOHN WICKLIFFE, the earliest reformer of religion from Popery, was born about the year 1324 in Yorkshire, near the river Tees, in a parish whence he takes his name. He was educated at Oxford, first as a commoner of Queen's college, and then at Merton college, peculiarly celebrated at that period for its learned members. His industry and talents soon raised him to distinction; and he is said to have committed to memory the most abstruse parts of Aristotle, and to have excelled in his acquaintance with the subtleties of the school divinity. He was also eminently skilled in civil and canon law, and in the law of the land. But the study which led to his future fame was that of the Scriptures; to which he added a diligent perusal of the Latin fathers, and of the writings of the

English divines, Robert Grossthead and Richard Fitz-Ralph. In his treatise "Of the Last Age of the Church," at the early period of the year 1356, he remonstrated against some Popish corruptions; and in 1360 he was active in opposing the encroachments of the Mendicant Friars, who interfered with the jurisdiction and statutes of the university, and took all opportunities of enticing the students from the colleges into their convents. In the following year, such was the credit he had acquired by his conduct and writings, he was appointed master of Baliol college, and was presented to a living in Lincolnshire. At this time he was held in such esteem by archbishop Simon Islip, that in 1365 he constituted him warden of Canterbury college, which he had just founded; but on occasion of a dispute between the regular and secular priests, Wickliffe and the three secular-fellows were rejected; and on an appeal to Rome, the sentence against Wickliffe was confirmed in 1370. His reputation in the

university was not at all diminished by his exclusion. In 1372 he took the degree of D. D., and read lectures, which gained him such applause, that whatever he said was regarded as an oracle. The impostures of the monks were the objects to which his first attacks were particularly directed; and the circumstances of the times favoured his design. The court of Rome was now enforcing by menaces its demands on king Edward III. of the homage and tribute to the see of Rome, which had been ingloriously stipulated by king John; and the parliament had determined to support the king in his refusal. A monk appeared as an advocate on behalf of the claims of Rome, and Wickliffe's reply caused him to be favorably regarded at court, and procured for him the patronage of the king's son, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster. In 1374 Wickliffe was joined to an embassy to Bruges, the object of which was to confer with the papal nuncios concerning the liberties of the English church, on which

the usurpations of Rome had made unwarrantable encroachments. In the same year the king presented him to the valuable rectory of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire ; and in the following year he was installed in a prebend of the collegiate church of Westbury, in Gloucestershire. Wickliffe, by his foreign mission, had an opportunity of acquainting himself with the corruption and tyranny of the court of Rome ; and both his lectures and conversations were amplified with invectives against the pope.— Whilst he defended the authority of the crown and the privileges of the nobles against all ecclesiastical encroachments, he censured vice and corruption in all ranks of society. This conduct, though it raised his reputation among the people, excited a host of enemies, who selected from his writings nineteen articles, which they deemed heretical, and which, as such, they transmitted to Gregory XI. In 1377 this pontiff returned three bulls addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of

London, ordering the seizure and imprisonment of Wickliffe ; or, if this measure failed, his citation to the court of Rome ; and also a requisition to the king and government to assist in extirpating the errors which he had propagated. Edward died before the bulls arrived ; and the duke of Lancaster, uncle to the young king, had great influence in the administration. When Wickliffe, therefore was cited to appear at St. Paul's church before the two prelates, possessing plenitude of power, he thought it necessary to secure himself by the protection of that powerful patron. On the appointed day he appeared at St. Paul's, in the midst of a vast concourse of people, and accompanied by the duke of Lancaster, and lord Henry Percy, earl-marshal. The bishop of London was very indignant, and angry words passed between him and the two lords ; so that the whole assembly was tumultuous, and nothing was done. Wickliffe afterwards appeared before the two prelates in Lambeth palace, and delivered

an explanation of the articles objected against him. The Londoners, who were apprehensive that he might be severely treated, flocked in crowds to the palace; and a messenger from the queen forbade the delegates to proceed to a definite sentence. Gregory soon after died, and his commission expiring with him Wickliffe escaped, but not without a severe illness, which was the consequence of his anxiety and fatigue. His spirits, however, were unbroken, and he was firm in maintaining opinions which the friars, by all the efforts of intimidation, urged him to renounce.

Upon his recovery, he presented to the parliament, in 1379, a paper against the tyranny and usurpations of Rome; and he also drew up some free remarks on the papal supremacy and infallibility. But his most effectual attack on the corruption of religion was his translation of the Bible into English. This occupied many of the last years of his life, and remains a valuable relic of the age in which it was per-

formed, and a permanent memorial of the talents and industry of the person by whom it was accomplished. By way of preparation for his bible, he published a treatise "Of the Truth of the Scripture," in which, as well as in a prologue or preface to his translation, he held, long before any of our other reformers or advocates for the sufficiency of Scripture, that this is the law of Christ, and the faith of the church; that truth is contained in it; and that every disputation which has not its origin thence is profane. "The truth of the faith," says he, "shines the more by how much the more it is known—nor are those heretics to be heard who fancy that seculars ought not to know the law of God, but that it is sufficient for them to know what priests and prelates tell them by word of mouth; for the Scripture is the faith of the church, and the more it is known in an orthodox sense the better; therefore, as secular men ought to know the faith, so it is to be taught men in whatsoever language is best known to

them. Besides, since the truth of the faith is clearer and more exact in the Scripture than the priests know how to express it—it seems useful that the faithful should themselves search out and discover the sense of the faith, by having the Scriptures in a language which they understand. The laws which the prelates make are not to be received as matters of faith ; nor are we to believe their words or discourses any farther or otherwise than they are founded on the Scripture ;”—with much more to the same purpose, and in the same admirable strain. In this preface, and several other publications and treatises still in manuscript, he reflected severely on the corruptions of the clergy, condemned the worship of saints and images, the doctrine of indulgences, pilgrimages to particular shrines, and confession ; and also denied the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament, inveighed against the wanton exercise of the papal power, and opposed the making of the belief of the Pope’s being head

of the church an article of faith and salvation, censured the celibacy of the clergy, forced vows of chastity, exposed various errors and irregularities in the hierarchy and discipline of the church, and earnestly exhorted all people to the study of the Scriptures.

In his lectures of 1381, he attacked the Popish doctrine of transubstantiation, concerning which he laid down this fundamental proposition ; viz : that the substance of bread and wine still remained in the sacramental elements after their consecration, and that the host is only typically to be regarded as the body of Christ ; and he deduced from it sixteen conclusions. This attack alarmed the church, which regarded transubstantiation as the most sacred tenet of the Romish religion, and the chancellor of Oxford pronounced a condemnation of these conclusions. Wickliffe appealed from this sentence to the king ; but he found himself deserted by his protector, the duke of Lancaster, who had no further occasion for his services, or who could not

avail himself for any political purpose of his theological discussions. Thus circumstanced, he found himself in danger; his resolution failed him, and he humbled himself by making a confession at Oxford, before the archbishop and six bishops, with other clergy, who had already condemned some of his tenets as erroneous and heretical. In this confession, he admitted the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, with some explanations and reasons which were not satisfactory to his prosecutors. It has been said that he made a public recantation of the opinions with which he was charged; but of this no sufficient evidence appears. The next step in their proceedings against him was a royal letter, procured by the archbishop, addressed to the chancellor and proctors, and directing them to expel from the university and town of Oxford all who should harbor Wickliffe or his followers, or hold any communication with them. These proceedings obliged him to withdraw, and retire to his rec-

tory at Lutterworth, where he continued to preach reformation in religion, and finished his translation of the Scriptures. Some have said that king Richard banished him out of England; but if that were the case, it was only a temporary exile, and he returned in safety to Lutterworth. In 1383 he had a paralytic stroke, which furnished him with an apology for not appearing at a citation of pope Urban VI.; and this was succeeded by a second attack, which terminated his life on the last day of December, 1384. His remains, however, did not escape the vengeance of his enemies many years after his death; for the council of Constance in 1415, not content with condemning many propositions in his works, and declaring that he died an obstinate heretic, with impotent malignity ordered his bones to be dug up and thrown upon a dung-hill. This sentence was executed in 1428, in consequence of a mandate from the Pope, by Flemming, bishop of Lincoln, who caused his remains to be disinterred and burnt,

and the ashes to be thrown into a brook. "Thus," says Fuller, the church historian, in a figurative strain, justified by fact, "this brook has conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean; and thus the ashes of Wickliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over." His doctrine not only survived these impotent attempts to extinguish it, but was perpetuated and diffused by his followers, who were called Lollards; and "this germ of reformation," as one of his biographers says, "broke forth into complete expansion, when the season for that great change was fully come." Of his general character, it will be sufficient to say, "that he was confessedly learned for his age, and was an acute reasoner. In short, notwithstanding certain errors and imperfections, he may be regarded as a person of extraordinary merit and qualifications, who is entitled to honorable remembrance from every foe to ecclesiastical

tyranny and imposture ;” and we may add, that he advanced principles which have not yet produced their full effect.

JOHN HUSS.

JOHN HUSS, from whom the Hussites take their name, was born in a little village, called "Hussinez," in Bohemia, about the year 1376, and lived at Prague, in the university of which he was educated, in the highest reputation, both on account of the sanctity of his manners, and the purity of his doctrine. In the year 1396 he took the degree of M. A., and soon after that of B. D. In 1400 his abilities and piety had so far recommended him, that he was chosen confessor to the queen, and eight years after he was elected rector of the university. He was distinguished by his uncommon erudition and eloquence, and performed at the same time the functions of professor of divinity in the university, and of ordinary pastor in the church of that city. During the course of these honours he ob-

tained a benefice amply endowed by John Mulheym, a person of large fortune at Prague. By the marriage of Ann, sister of the King of Bohemia, with Richard II. of England, in 1381, a communication and intercourse were opened between England and Bohemia; and a young Bohemian nobleman, who had finished his studies in the university of Prague, spent some time at Oxford; and on his return put into the hands of Huss the writings of Wickliffe. He adopted the sentiments of Wickliffe, and the Waldenses; and in the year 1407 began openly to oppose and preach against divers errors in doctrine, as well as corruptions in point of discipline, then reigning in the church. Huss likewise endeavoured to the utmost of his power to withdraw the university of Prague from the jurisdiction of Gregory XII, whom the kingdom of Bohemia had hitherto acknowledged as the true and lawful head of the church. This occasioned a violent quarrel between the incensed archbishop

of Prague, who was an illiterate man, to such a degree that he was called "Alphabetarius," or the A B C doctor, and who, without sufficient authority from the Pope, had committed the works of Wickliffe to the flames; and the zealous reformer, which the latter inflamed and augmented from day to day, by his pathetic exclamations against the court of Rome, and the corruptions that prevailed among the sacerdotal order. The archbishop, by his own authority, prohibited Huss from preaching in his chapel of Bethlehem, to which he had been appointed by Mulheym; upon which Huss, as a member of the university, which held immediately of the Roman see, appealed to the Pope.

There were other circumstances that contributed to inflame the resentment of the clergy against him. He adopted the philosophical opinions of the Realists, and vehemently opposed and even persecuted the Nominalists, whose number and influence were considerable in the university of

Prague. He also multiplied the number of his enemies in the year 1408, by procuring, through his great credit, a sentence in favour of the Bohemians, who disputed with the Germans concerning the number of suffrages which their respective nations were entitled to in all matters that were carried by election in this university. In consequence of a decree, obtained in favour of the former, which restored them to their constitutional right of three suffrages, usurped by the latter, the Germans withdrew from Prague, and in the year 1409, founded a new academy at Leipsick. This event no sooner happened than Huss began to inveigh with greater freedom than he had before done against the vices and corruptions of the clergy, and to recommend, in a public manner, the writings and opinions of Wickliffe, as far as they related to the papal hierarchy, the despotism of the court of Rome, and the corruption of the clergy. Hence an accusation was brought against him, in the year

1410, before the tribunal of John XXIII. by whom he was solemnly expelled from the communion of the church. Notwithstanding this sentence of excommunication, he proceeded to expose the Romish church with a fortitude and zeal that were almost universally applauded.

Some tumults having taken place among the followers of Huss, in which he had no concern, and which, indeed, he lamented, and endeavoured to suppress, Wincseslaus, king of Bohemia, banished him from Prague, upon which he retired to his native place, and lived there unmolested. During his retreat at Hussinez he composed his celebrated treatise "Upon the Church;" and here he also dated a paper entitled "The Six Errors;" which he fixed on the gates of the chapel at Bethlehem. It was levelled against indulgences, the abuse of excommunication, believing in the Pope, the unlimited obedience required by the see of Rome, simony, and making the body of Christ in the mass.

This eminent man whose piety was equally sincere and fervent, though his zeal was perhaps too violent, and his prudence not always circumspect, was summoned to appear before the general council of Constance, convened in the year 1414 ; whither princes and prelates, clergy and laity, regulars and seculars, flocked together from all parts of Europe. Secured, as he apprehended from the rage of his enemies by the safe-conduct granted him by the emperor Sigismund, for his journey to Constance, his residence in that place, and his return to his own country ; John Huss obeyed the order of the council, and appeared before it, to demonstrate his innocence, and to prove that the charge of his having deserted the church of Rome was entirely groundless. However, his enemies so far prevailed, that by the most scandalous breach of public faith, he was cast into prison, declared a heretic because he refused to plead guilty against the dictates of his conscience, in obedience to the

council, and burned alive July 6th, 1415 ; a punishment which he endured with unparalleled magnanimity and resignation.

We shall here subjoin some farther interesting particulars relating to the close of this eminent reformer's life. Whilst his fate was in suspense, his friends in Bohemia were sufficiently active ; and at length a petition was sent through the kingdom, and subscribed by almost the whole body of the Bohemian nobility and gentry. It was dated in May, 1415, and was addressed to the council of Constance. The first petition, complaining of the treatment which he had received, soliciting that a speedy end might be put to his sufferings by allowing him an audience, having been disregarded, a second and a third were presented, urging his release, and offering any security for his appearance. The last petition to the council was accompanied by another to the emperor, pressing upon him a regard to his honor solemnly engaged for the security of Huss, and imploring his protection and

interest with the council. The emperor in this case was undoubtedly chargeable with a most notorious breach of faith; though the blame is generally laid, and with some reasons, upon the council, who directed his conscience. Huss was at length after repeated delays, summoned to appear before the council; but as soon as he began to reply to the first charge, a most indecent and tumultuous clamour began; and the disorder and noise were so great that he could not proceed. "In this place," said Huss, who was the most dispassionate of men, looking round him, "I hoped to have found a different treatment." His rebuke increased the clamour; and without attempting any further defence he held his peace. "He was now confounded," exclaimed the tumultuous assembly with seeming triumph, "silenced, by confession guilty." On the next day the council resumed its meeting, and the emperor Sigismund, disgusted and offended at its preceding conduct, determined to maintain a more decent behaviour.

The first charge exhibited against Huss was his denying the real presence. To which he had only to answer, that he had always held the true Catholic doctrine, which was a known fact among his friends, for he had ever believed transubstantiation. He was next charged in general with maintaining the pernicious errors of Wickliffe. To which he answered, that he had never held any error which he knew to be such; and that he desired nothing more than to be convinced of any errors into which he might have inadvertently fallen. Wickliffe's doctrine of tythes was objected to him, which he owned he knew not how to refute. He had also expressed himself against burning the books of Wickliffe, and he acknowledged that he had spoken against burning them in the manner practised by the archbishop of Prague, who condemned them to the flames without examining them. He was further charged with saying that he wished his soul in the same place where Wickliffe's was. He owned having used

this expression, which afforded matter of great mirth to his hearers. He was afterwards charged with sedition, in exciting the people to take arms against their sovereign, from which charge he entirely exculpated himself. After the discussion of some other trifling particulars the council rose, and Huss was carried back to prison. In his way thither the emperor turned to him and told him, that he had given him his safe-conduct, which he found was more than was well in his power, that he might have an opportunity to vindicate his character. "But depend upon it," said he, "if you continue obstinate, I will make a fire with my own hands to burn you rather than you shall escape." To which address Huss replied, that he could not charge himself with holding any opinions obstinately, that he came thither with joy rather than with reluctance ; that if any doctrine better than his own could be laid before him in that learned assembly, he might see his error and embrace the truth. Upon again ap-

pearing before the council, not fewer than forty articles were brought against him. Of these the chief were extracted from his books, and some of them by very unfair deduction.

The following opinions among many others, which gave offence, were esteemed most criminal : “ That there was no absolute necessity for a visible head of the church, that the church was better governed in apostolic times without one ; that the title of holiness was improperly given to man ; that a wicked Pope could not possibly be the vicar of Christ, that he denied the very authority on which he pretended to act ; that liberty of conscience was every one’s natural right ; that ecclesiastical censures, especially such as touched the life of man, had no foundation in Scripture ; that ecclesiastical obedience should have its limits ; that no excommunication should deter the priest from his duty ; that preaching was as much required from the minister of religion, as alms-giving from the man of

ability ; and that neither of them could hide his talents in the earth without incurring the divine displeasure." Paletz and the Cardinal of Cambray were the chief managers of this examination.

Besides these opinions, most of which were proved and acknowledged, he threw out many things in the course of his examination which were eagerly laid hold on ; particularly against the scandalous lives of the clergy of every denomination ; the open simony practised among them, their luxury, lewdness, and ignorance.

Huss having now been examined on all those articles which the nicest scrutiny into his books, and the most exact remembrance of his words could furnish, the cardinal of Cambray thus accosted him : "Your guilt hath now been laid before this august assembly with its full force of evidence ; I am obliged, therefore, to take upon me the disagreeable task of informing you, that only this alternative is offered to you : either to abjure these damnable errors, and submit

yourself to the council; in which case these reverend fathers will deal as gently with you as possible, or to abide the severe consequence of an obstinate adherence to them." To this Huss answered, "that he had nothing to say, but what he had often said before; that he came there not to defend any opinion obstinately; but with an earnest desire to see his errors and amend them; that many opinions had been laid to his charge, some of which he had never maintained, and others, which he had maintained, were not yet confuted; that as in the first case, he thought it absurd to abjure opinions which were never his; so in the second, he was determined to subscribe nothing against his conscience."

The emperor told him, he saw no difficulty in his renouncing errors which he had never held. "For myself," said he, "I am at this moment ready to renounce every heresy that hath ever existed in the Christian church: does it therefore follow that I have been an heretic?"

Huss respectfully made a distinction between abjuring errors in general, and abjuring errors which had been falsely imputed; and prayed the council to hear him upon those points which to them appeared erroneous; were it only to convince them that he had something to say for the opinions he maintained. To this request, however, the council paid no attention.

Here Paletz and De Cassis took an opportunity to exculpate themselves of any appearance of malice in this disagreeable prosecution. They both entered upon the task with great unwillingness, and had done nothing but what their duty required. To this the cardinal of Cambray added, that he could sufficiently exculpate them on that head. They had behaved, he said, with great humanity, and to his knowledge might have acted a much severer part.

The emperor observing, that every thing which the cause would bear, had now been

offered, arose from his seat, and thus addressed himself to the council :

“ You have now heard, reverend fathers, an ample detail of heresies, not only proved but confessed ; each of which, unquestionably, in my judgment, deserveth death. If, therefore, the heretic continueth obstinate in the maintainance of his opinions, he must certainly die. And if he should even abjure them, I should by no means think it proper to send him again into Bohemia ; where new opportunities would give him new spirits, and raise a second commotion worse than the first. As to the fate, however, of this unhappy man, be that as it may hereafter be determined ; at present, let me only add, that an authentic copy of the condemned articles should be sent into Bohemia, as a ground-work for the clergy there to proceed on ; that heresy may at length be rooted up, and peace restored to that distracted country.”

The emperor having finished his speech,

it was agreed in the council to allow Huss a month longer to give in his final answer. With the utmost difficulty he had supported himself through this severe trial. Besides the malice of his enemies, he had upon him the paroxysm of a very violent disorder. On this last day he was scarcely able to walk, when he was led from the council. His consolation in these circumstances was a cold and hungry dungeon, into which he was inhumanly thrust.

His friend, the baron, attended him even hither, and with every instance of endearing tenderness, endeavoured to support him. The suffering martyr wrung his hand; and looking round the horrid scene, earnestly cried out, "Good God! this is friendship indeed!" His keepers soon after put him in irons; and none but such as were licensed by the council were allowed to see him.

The generous nature of Sigismund, though he was not unversed in the artifices of the cabinet, abhorred a practised fraud. The

affair of Huss, amidst all the casuistry of the council, gave him keen distress ; and he wished nothing more ardently than to rid his hands of it with honor. On the other side, his vanity and his interest engaged him to appear the defender of the Catholic cause in Germany. If he suffered Huss to be put to death, one part of the world would question his honor ; if he interfered with a high hand in preserving him, the other part would question his religion. The perplexity was great ; from which he thought nothing could relieve him but the recantation of Huss.

To obtain this he tried every means in his power. He had already endeavoured to intimidate him with high language which he had used, both in the council and in other places. But this was ineffectual. He had now recourse to soothing arts. The form of recantation was offered ; in which Huss was required only to renounce those heresies which had been fairly proved. But he continued still inflexible. Several

deputations were afterwards sent to him in prison ; and bishops, cardinals and princes, in vain tried their eloquence to persuade him.

Sigismund, seeing the conclusion to which this fatal affair was approaching, might probably have interested himself thus far, as thinking he had been too condescending to the council. The flame also, which he saw kindling in Bohemia, where he had high expectations, and was willing to preserve an interest, might alarm him greatly. He had gone too far, however, to recede, and knew not how to take Huss out of the hands of the council, into which he had given him with so much zeal and devotion.

In the mean time Huss remained master of his fate, and showed a constancy which scarce any age hath excelled. He amused himself, while it was permitted, with writing letters to his friends, which were privately conveyed by the Bohemian lords who visited him in prison. Many of these letters are still extant. The following,

which is the substance of one of them, may be a test of that composed piety and rational frame of mind which supported him in all his sufferings.

“ My dear friends, let me take this last opportunity of exhorting you to trust in nothing here, but to give yourselves up entirely to the service of God. Well am I authorized to warn you not to trust in princes, nor in any child of man, for there is no help in them. God only remaineth steadfast. What *he* promiseth he will undoubtedly perform. For myself, on his gracious promise I rest. Having endeavored to be his faithful servant, I fear not being deserted by him. Where I am, says the gracious Promiser, there shall my servant be. May the God of heaven preserve you! This is probably the last letter I shall be enabled to write. I have reason to believe I shall be called upon to-morrow to answer with my life. Sigismund hath in all things acted deceitfully. I pray God forgive him! You have heard in what severe language he hath spoken of me.”

The month, which had been allowed by the council, being now expired, a deputation of four bishops came to receive his last answer, which was given in the same language as before.

The sixth of July was appointed for his condemnation, the scene of which was opened with extraordinary pomp. In the morning of that day, the bishops and temporal lords of the council, each in his robes, assembled in the great church at Constance. The emperor presided in a chair of state. When all were seated, Huss was brought in by a guard. In the middle of the church a scaffold had been erected ; near which a table was placed, covered with the vestments of a Romish priest.

After a sermon, in which the preacher earnestly exhorted his hearers to *cut off the man of sin*, the proceedings began. The articles alleged against him were read aloud ; as well those which he had, as those which he had not allowed. This treatment Huss opposed greatly ; and would gladly, for his

character's sake, have made a distinction : but finding all endeavors of this kind ineffectual, and being indeed plainly told by the cardinal of Cambray, that no farther opportunity of answering for himself should be allowed, he desisted, and falling on his knees, in a pathetic ejaculation, commended his cause to Christ.

The articles against him, as form required, having been recited, the sentence of his condemnation was read. The instrument is tedious : in substance it runs, That John Huss, being a disciple of Wickliffe, of damnable memory, whose life he had defended, and whose doctrines he had maintained, is adjudged by the council of Constance (his tenets having been first condemned) to be an obstinate heretic ; and as such to be degraded from the office of a priest ; and cut off from the holy church."

His sentence having been thus pronounced, he was ordered to put on the priest's vestments, and ascend the scaffold, according to form, where he might speak to the people ; and, it was hoped, might still have

the grace to retract his errors. But Huss contented himself with saying once more, that he knew of no errors which he had to retract ; that none had been proved upon him ; and that he would not injure the doctrine he had taught, nor the consciences of those who had heard him, by ascribing to himself errors, of which he had never been convinced.

When he came down from the scaffold, he was received by seven bishops, who were commissioned to degrade him. The ceremonies of this business exhibited a very unchristian scene. The bishops, forming a circle round him, each adding a curse took off a part of his attire. When they had thus stripped him of his sacerdotal vestments, they proceeded to erase his tonsure, which they did by clipping it into the form of a cross. Some writers say, that in doing this, they even tore and mangled his head ; but such stories are unquestionably the exaggeration of Protestant zeal. Their last act was to adorn him with a large paper

cap ; on which various and horrid forms of devils were painted. This cap one of the bishops put upon his head, with this unchristian speech, "Hereby we commit thy soul to the devil." Huss smiling, observed, "It was less painful than a crown of thorns."

The ceremony of his degradation being thus over, the bishops presented him to the emperor. They had now done, they told him, all the church allowed. What remained was of civil authority. Sigismund ordered the duke of Bavaria to receive him, who immediately gave him into the hands of an officer. This person had orders to see him burned, with every thing he had about him.

At the gate of the church, a guard of eight hundred men waited to conduct him to the place of execution. He was carried first to the gate of the episcopal palace, where a pile of wood being kindled, his books were burned before his face. Huss smiled at the indignity.

When he came to the stake, he was allowed some time for devotion ; which he

performed in so animated a manner, that many of the spectators, who came there sufficiently prejudiced against him, cried out, "What this man hath said within doors we know not, but surely he prayeth like a Christian."

As he was preparing for the stake, he was asked whether he chose a confessor? He answered in the affirmative, and a priest was called. The design was to draw from him a retraction, without which the priest said, he durst not confess him. "If that be your resolution," said Huss, "I must die without confession: I trust in God I have no mortal sin to answer for.

He was then tied to the stake with wet cords, and fastened by a chain round his body. As the executioners were beginning to pile the faggots around him, a voice from the crowd was heard, "Turn him from the east; turn him from the east." It seemed like a voice from heaven. They who conducted the execution, struck at once with the impropriety, or rather profaneness of

what they had done, gave immediate orders to have him turned due west.

Before fire was brought, the duke of Bavaria rode up, and exhorted him once more to retract his errors. But he still continued firm. "I have no errors," said he, "to retract; I endeavored to preach Christ with apostolic plainness; and I am now prepared to seal my doctrine with my blood."

The faggots being lighted, he recommended himself into the hands of God, and began a hymn, which he continued singing, till the wind drove the flame and smoke into his face. For some time he was invisible. When the rage of the fire had abated, his body, half consumed, appeared hanging over the chain; which, together with the post, were thrown down, and a new pile heaped over them. The malice of his enemies pursued his very remains. His ashes were gathered up and scattered in the Rhine, that the very earth might not feel the load of such enormous guilt.

JEROME OF PRAGUE.

JEROME of Prague, so called from the name of the city in which he was born, devoted his youth to the pursuit of knowledge, which he sought after in all the more considerable cities of Europe ; particularly in those of Prague, Paris, Heidelberg, Cologne, and Oxford. In the four former universities he was admitted to the degree of M.A., and in one of them to that of D.D. in the year 1399. At the latter place he became acquainted with the works of Wickliffe, many of which he translated into his native language. Upon his return to Prague, in the year 1400, he openly avowed himself a follower of Wickliffe, and became attached to Huss, who was at the head of the party in Bohemia, which had espoused the doctrines of the British reformer. Jerome, though superior to Huss in abilities and

learning, was not so well qualified as the leader of a party, because, with all his great and good qualities, he wanted that gentle, conciliatory temper, for which Huss was distinguished. They both concurred, however, in ardent efforts for restraining the despotism of the papal court, and reforming the licentiousness of the clergy. In the year 1410 he was invited by the king of Poland to regulate the university at Cracow; from Poland he went to Hungary, in which country he was accused of heresy; and upon his removal to Vienna he was imprisoned on account of his opinions, but obtained his liberty in consequence of the solicitation of the university of Prague. As soon as he heard that his friend Huss was at Constance, ready to appear before the Council, he pathetically exhorted him to maintain a firm and unyielding temper in this great trial, and strenuously to insist upon the corrupt state of the clergy, and the necessity of reformation, assuring him, at the same time, that if he should receive

information in Bohemia, that his adversaries were likely to overpower him, he would immediately repair to Constance, and give him every kind of assistance in his power. Huss earnestly dissuaded him from the execution of his purpose, as equally unprofitable to him and dangerous to Jerome himself; but he was invincible, and arrived at Constance on the fourth of April, 1415, about three months before the death of Huss. Although he entered the town privately, his visit and the design of it was soon made public; and he was informed by his friends that he could be of no service to Huss, and that the council, so far from being disposed to hear him, intended to seize him. In these circumstances he thought it most prudent to retire, and accordingly withdrew to Iberling, an imperial town about a mile from Constance. From this place he addressed a letter to the emperor, professing his readiness to appear before the council, if that prince would give him a safe-conduct. But Sigismund

had the honesty to refuse. Jerome then tried the council, but could obtain no favorable answer. In this state of perplexity he posted papers in all the public places of Constance avowing himself prepared to appear at Constance in defence of his character and doctrine, which had been much defamed; and also his resolution to retract every error that should be proved against him, on condition that the faith of the council might be pledged for his security. As he received no answer to these papers, he set out on his return to Bohemia, carrying with him a certificate signed by several of the Bohemian nobility then at Constance, which testified that he used all possible means, which prudence suggested, in order to procure a hearing. At a village, upon the borders of the Black Forest, Jerome fell by accident into company with some priests, and a conversation occurring with reference to the Council of Constance, Jerome became warm, and among other severe things he called that assembly the

“school of the devil,” and a “synagogue of iniquity.” The priests incensed by this language, informed against him to the chief magistrates, by whom he was arrested and delivered into the hands of the duke of Sultzbach. The duke having Jerome in custody, wrote to the council for directions; and he was desired to send his prisoner immediately to Constance. The elector-palatine then met him, and conducted him, in triumph to the town; himself riding on horseback, with a numerous retinue, who led Jerome, in fetters, by a long chain, after him. As soon as he was brought before the council, the clamor against him became loud and tumultuous; and, among others who disgraced themselves on this occasion, was John Gerson, chancellor of the university of Paris, one of the most learned, as well as the most knowing men of his time, but destitute of that candor which usually attends knowledge. In the chancellor’s invective and reproach the rectors of the universities of Cologne and Hiedelberg concur-

red ; but Jerome had no opportunity of replying. A thousand voices burst out from every quarter, " Away with him ! burn him ! burn him !" After an interval of about half an hour the tumult partly subsided ; and Jerome, availing himself of a momentary pause, looked round the assembly with a noble air, and cried out aloud, " Since nothing can satisfy you but my blood, God's will be done." He was then carried from the assembly into a dungeon, under the custody of a guard. Whilst he was ruminating upon his approaching fate in this cell, he heard a voice addressing him in these words, " Fear not, Jerome, to die in the cause of that truth, which during thy life, thou hast defended." " Whosoever thou art," replied the intrepid prisoner, directing his eyes to the window from which the voice seemed to proceed, " who deignest to comfort an abject man, I give thee thanks for thy kind office. I have indeed lived defending what I thought the truth : the hardest task yet remains, to die for its

sake ; but God I hope will support me against flesh and blood." The guard was alarmed, and Maddonwitz, who had rendered services to Huss was discovered to be the offender. This incident was a pretence for a more severe treatment of Jerome, who was immediately conveyed to a strong tower, where his hands being tied behind his neck, he was left to languish in that painful posture for two days, without any aliment besides bread and water. These severities were inflicted with the design of forcing him to make a recantation ; and the illness which they occasioned, in the course of which he urged the council to allow him a confessor, affording an opportunity of pressing him with arguments to this purpose. Jerome, however, remained immovable. A similar attempt was made upon him immediately after the death of Huss ; but he was still invincible. However, though he was not to be subdued by the simple fear of death, imprisonment, chains, hunger, sickness, and even torture, through

a succession of many months, was too great a trial for human nature. Three times he was brought before the council, and carried back to the horrors of his dungeon, before his enemies could prevail against him. At length he began to waver ; and on the 23d of September, a fatal day, which he recollected with shame and grief, he read a loud and ample recantation of all the opinions he had maintained, couched in words directed by the council. In this paper he acknowledged the errors of Wickliffe and Huss, entirely assented to the condemnation of the latter, and declared himself, in every article, a firm believer with the church of Rome. Having thus acted against his conscience, he retired from the council with a heavy heart. His chains, indeed, were taken away ; but the load was transferred from his body to his mind.—Vain were the caresses of those about him: they only mocked his sorrow. His prison was now indeed a gloomy solitude. The anguish of his own thoughts had made it

such. Paletz and Du Cassis, the chief managers against him, soon perceived this change; and they determined to bring him to a new trial. Several persons, however, and particularly the cardinals of Cambray and Florence, objected to a new trial. But their endeavours were ineffectual, a torrent of zeal and bigotry bore down all opposition; and even the learned Gerson again disgraced himself by joining the tumultuous clamour; with great indecency employing his pen, as well as his tongue, upon this occasion. This kind of agitation continued for half a year: so that it was not till May in the year 1416, when Jerome was called again before the council. The prospect afforded him pleasure, and he rejoiced at an opportunity of acknowledging publicly that shameful defection, which hung so heavy upon him. The chief articles alleged against him were, his adherence to the errors of Wickliffe—his having had a picture of that heretic in his chamber, arrayed in the common ornaments of a saint—his

counterfeiting the seal of the university of Oxford in favor of Wickliffe—his despising the authority of the church after excommunication—and his denial of transubstantiation. Having protested his innocence, and given a circumstantial detail of his coming to Constance, and of all that had since befallen him, he raised his voice, and having expressed himself with some asperity against his accusers, he told them that he was going to lay himself more open to them than he had yet done. He then, with great emotion, declared before the whole assembly, that the fear of death only had induced him to retract opinions which from his heart he maintained; that he had done injustice to the memory of those two excellent men, John Wickliffe and John Huss; whose examples he revered, and in whose doctrine he was determined to die. He concluded with a severe invective against the clergy; the depravity of whose manners, he said, was now every where notorious. His speech produced a wonderful effect on the whole as-

sembly ; and many wished that his life might be saved. His judges, however, precipitated the passing of sentence ; and on the same day, or a few days after, he was condemned for having held the errors of Wickliffe, and for apostatizing. He was then immediately delivered over to the civil power, and, attired with a cap like that with which Huss had been adorned, he was led to execution. The post to which he was chained was hewn into a monstrous and uncouth figure of Huss, and ornamented into a ridiculous likeness of him. When the wood began to blaze, he sang a hymn ; and when the flames scorched him, he was heard to cry out, “ O Lord God ! have mercy upon me ! ” and a little afterwards, “ Thou knowest how I have loved the truth.” The wind parting the flames, his body, full of large blisters, exhibited a dreadful spectacle to the beholders ; his lips continued still moving, as if actuated by intense devotion. During a full quarter of an hour, he discovered the signs, not only of life, but of intel-

lect. Even his enemies thought the rage of his judges pursued him too far, when they saw his wretched coverlet, and the other miserable garniture of his prison, by their order, consumed in the fire after him; and his ashes, as those of Huss had been, thrown into the Rhine.

The celebrated Poggio of Florence was present at the trial of Jerome, and in a letter to his friend Leonard Aretine, has given an interesting account of it. For the whole letter we refer to Shepherd's life of Poggio Bracciolini, and for several extracts to Gilpin's Life of Jerome. "It was indeed amazing," says this celebrated writer, "to hear with what force of expression, with what fluency of language, and with what excellent reasoning he answered his adversaries; nor was I less struck with the gracefulness of his manner; the dignity of his action; and the firmness and constancy of his whole behaviour." "Here," said Jerome, as cited by this writer, standing in the midst of the assembly, "here is justice;

here is equity. Beset by my enemies ; I am already pronounced a heretic ; I am condemned, before I am examined. Were you Gods omniscient, instead of an assembly of fallible men, you could not act with more sufficiency. Error is the lot of mortals ; and you, exalted as you are, are subject to it. But consider, that the higher you are exalted, of the more dangerous consequence are your errors. As for me, I know I am a wretch below your notice : but at least consider, that an unjust action, in such an assembly, will be of dangerous example.” When Jerome was accused of hating and defaming the holy see, the Pope, the cardinals, the prelates, and the whole estate of the clergy, he stretched out his hands, and said in a most moving accent, “On which side, reverend fathers, shall I turn me for redress ? whom shall I implore ? whose assistance can I expect ? which of you hath not this malicious charge entirely alienated from me ? which of you hath it not changed from a judge into an inveterate enemy ?

—It was artfully alleged indeed ! Though other parts of their charge were of less moment, my accusers might well imagine, that if this were fastened on me, it could not fail of drawing upon me the united indignation of my judges.”

On the third day of this memorable trial, what had past was recapitulated ; when Jerome, having obtained leave, though with some difficulty, to speak, began his oration with a prayer to God ; whose divine assistance he pathetically implored. He then observed, that many excellent men, in the annals of history, had been oppressed by false witnesses, and condemned by unjust judges. Beginning with profane history, he instanced the death of Socrates, the captivity of Plato, the banishment of Anaxagoras, and the unjust sufferings of many others. He then instanced the many worthies of the Old Testament, in the same circumstances, Moses, Joshua, Daniel, and almost all the prophets ; and lastly, those of the New, John the Baptist, St. Stephen,

and others, who were condemned as seditious, profane or immoral men. An unjust judgment, he said, proceeding from a laic was bad ; from a priest worse ; still worse from a college of priests ; and from a general council superlatively bad. These things he spoke with such force and emphasis, as kept every one's attention awake.

“ The perjured witnesses,” said Jerome, who have appeared against me, have won their cause ; but let them remember they have their evidence once more to give before a tribunal, where falsehood can be no disguise.”

“ His voice,” says Poggio, “ was sweet, distinct and full : his action every way the most proper, either to express indignation, or to raise pity ; though he made no affected application to the passions of his audience. Firm and intrepid he stood before the council ; collected in himself ; and not only contemning, but seeming even desirous of death. The greatest character in ancient story could not possibly go beyond

him. If there is any justice in history this man will be admired by all posterity. I speak not of his errors : let these rest with him. What I admired was his learning, his eloquence, and amazing acuteness. God knows whether these things were not the ground-work of his ruin.

“With a cheerful countenance, and more than Stoical constancy, he met his fate ; fearing neither death itself, nor the horrible form in which it appeared. When he came to the place, he pulled off his upper garment, and made a short prayer at the stake : to which he was soon after bound with wet cords and an iron chain ; and inclosed as high as his breast with faggots.

“Observing the executioner about to set fire to the wood behind his back, he cried out, ‘Bring thy torch hither. Perform thy office before my face. Had I feared death, I might have avoided it.’

“As the wood began to blaze, he sang an hymn, which the violence of the flames scarcely interrupted.

“Thus died this prodigious man. The epithet is not extravagant. I was myself an eye-witness of his whole behaviour. Whatever his life may have been, his death, without doubt, is a noble lesson of philosophy.”

MARTIN LUTHER.

MARTIN LUTHER, in Biography the celebrated author of the Reformation in Germany, descended from parents in very humble circumstances, was born at Eisleben, in Saxony, in the year 1483. He discovered an early inclination for learning, and having attained the rudiments of grammar under his father's roof, he was sent to school at Magdeburg, where he continued only about a year, and during that short period he supported himself, like many other poor German scholars, by literally begging his bread. From Magdeburg he went to Eisenach, in Thuringia, and distinguished himself in a school of high reputation, by his diligence and proficiency. In 1501 he was entered at the university of Erfurt, and in a very short time, having a mind superior to the scho-

lastic modes of instruction then in use, he became disgusted with those subtle and uninstructional sciences. He immediately applied himself with the greatest ardour and assiduity to the works of the ancient Latin writers, such as Cicero, Virgil, Livy, Sallust, &c. and such was the success with which he studied, that he became the object of admiration to the whole university. He took his degree of M. A. when he was scarcely twenty years of age, and immediately afterwards began to read lectures on Aristotle's physics, on ethics, and other branches of philosophy. He began now to consider the profession which he should adopt for his support in life, and, by the persuasion of his friends, he turned his attention to jurisprudence ; but an accident, to which he was witness, viz. the death of a friend by the discharge of a thunder-cloud, so sensibly affected him, that he determined to retire from the world into a convent of the Augustine friars. No entreaties on the part of his friends could di-

vert him from his plan, which he conceived to be a duty that he owed to God, and accordingly assumed the habit of that order. He now applied himself very diligently to the study of theology, and turned his mind so eagerly to the reading of the Latin bible, which he had met with by accident, as to excite the most lively emotions of surprise and astonishment among the monks, who were little accustomed to derive their notions concerning religion from that source. Having past a year in the monastery of Erfurt, he took the vows, and was in 1507, admitted to priest's orders. His great and profound learning, the sanctity of his moral conduct, and his extensive knowledge of the holy Scriptures, were generally known and applauded; and in the following year, Frederick, elector of Saxony, having lately founded an university at Wittemburg, appointed Luther to the professorship of philosophy, and afterwards that of divinity. The duties attached to these officers he discharged with so

much ability, and in a method so totally different from the usual mechanical and dull forms of lecturing, that he was crowded with pupils from all quarters, and was regarded as the chief ornament of the university. In 1510, Luther was sent to Rome by the monks of his order, to get some disputes between them and their vicar-general settled by his holiness the Pope. While in that city, he made his observations on the Pope and the government of the church of Rome; he examined the manners of the clergy, which he severely censured, particularly as to the hasty and slovenly method which they adopted in performing divine service. The carelessness with which they were accustomed to offer up their prayers to Almighty God, he declares excited in his breast sentiments of astonishment and horror. As soon as he had accomplished the object of his mission he returned to Wittemburg, where, in 1512, he had the degree of doctor of divinity conferred upon him, at

the expense of Frederick, elector of Saxony, who frequently attended his pulpit discourses, and was as delighted with his eloquence as satisfied with his extraordinary merits. Luther was, at first, desirous of declining the honour offered him, considering himself too young for such a distinction, but his objections were over-ruled, and he was told "that he must submit to be thus dignified, inasmuch as the Almighty had important services to be performed in the church, and through his instrumentality." Little did they, who made use of this expression, whether in a tone of seriousness or levity, imagine how truly its prophetic language should be verified, and how extensively useful his future labours should be, in clearing away the corruptions that had almost overwhelmed the Christian world, as it was then called; for real Christianity, as dictated by its meek and holy founder, was as difficult to be discerned in the age preceding the great reformer, as it was among the most barba-

rian nations devoted to the superstitions and idolatry of Greece and Rome.

This great man, almost as soon as he was created doctor of divinity, felt it incumbent on him to shew that the title and honour had not been conferred without reason. He applied himself with all diligence to the duties of the theological chair. He read lectures on the several books of the Scriptures. He commented on the epistle to the Romans and on the book of Psalms, and his illustrations were so striking, that, by the thoughtful and the serious, he was regarded as the harbinger of a new day ready to break out after a long night of darkness and ignorance; and he led multitudes to think and to reason on matters of high importance who had never reflected or thought before beyond the concerns of the present world. He opposed, with a vehemence that could scarcely be withstood, the errors which had been long current in the church and the schools, as truth, shewing that the Scriptures were the

only test of sound doctrine and practical morality. He applied himself diligently to the study of the Scriptures, in their original languages, and encouraged the cultivation of these languages in the university, as the only sure foundation on which a proper knowledge of religion could be built. Luther was a strict disciplinarian in the college, but he exacted no more from the young men under his inspection than he shewed himself an example of in his own moral conduct; and thus, by uniting a practical regard to religious duties, with an earnest zeal in enforcing them upon the minds of others, he contributed, in an eminent degree, to raise the university of Wittemburg to a high degree of reputation, which amply gratified the elector for his munificence in founding it. He had himself been early initiated in the Peripatetic philosophy, then universally taught in the schools; but his eyes were soon opened to its numerous defects and silly subtleties, and while a pro-

fessor at Wittemburg, in 1516, he wrote to Jodocus, a zealous Aristotelian, who had been his preceptor at Erfurt, stating at first only his doubts respecting the doctrines in which he had been instructed, and which, in his turn, it was expected he should teach others. Jodocus, wholly unprepared for such remarks made with firmness, mingled with modesty, was highly incensed against the author of them, and in his next visit to Urfurt refused to see him. Luther had not a mind to be intimidated: even the respect which he felt for the instructor of his early years forbade him to recede a single step; he had set his hands to the plough, and could not look back; he had embarked in the cause of reform, and must necessarily advance, notwithstanding the difficulties that might be opposed to him by his dearest friends. He accordingly wrote a second letter to Jodocus, in which he gave it as his decided opinion, grounded upon indisputable evidence, that it would be impos-

sible to reform the church, without entirely abolishing the canons and decretals, and with them the scholastic theology, philosophy, and logic, and instituting others in their stead.

In early life, Luther, whose comprehensive mind could grasp all objects, had studied the writings of St. Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and other celebrated school men; and in the dispute concerning Universals, attached himself to the party of the Nominalists, but maturer age and reflection instructed him to treat the whole controversy with contempt. This has been referred chiefly to his early acquaintance with the ancients, but it was probably owing rather to that peculiar strength and ardour of mind which led him easily to discover the absurdity of the prevailing modes of reasoning, and of judging upon theological and philosophical subjects, and to observe with regret and indignation the fatal effects of corrupt philosophy united with ecclesiastical tyranny.

When Leo was raised to the papal throne, he found the revenues of the church exhausted by the vast projects of his predecessors : he felt no desire to pursue a system of economy ; his heart as we have seen, was intent on aggrandizing his family : to this may be added his love of splendour, his taste for pleasure, and his munificence in rewarding men of genius and merit, all which involved him in new expenses : in order to provide a fund for which, he tried every device that himself and friends could invent, to drain the credulous multitude of their wealth. Hence the sale of indulgences, which pretended to convey to the possessor, either the pardon of his own sins, or the release of any one, already dead, in whose happiness he was interested, from the pains of purgatory. Leo had not, however, the credit of the invention of this system ; it may be referred back to the papacy of Urban II, in the eleventh century, who had contrived the

lucrative trade, in order that the Pope might have the means of recompensing those who went to join the army of the crusaders in the Holy Land. They were afterwards granted to those who, being unwilling to serve themselves, hired a soldier for that purpose, and in a short time they were bestowed on such as gave money for accomplishing any pious work enjoined by the holy pontiff.

Julius II had bestowed indulgences on all who contributed towards building the church of St. Peter at Rome, which, as we have seen, was begun while he sat upon the papal throne, and as Leo was carrying on that expensive building, his grant was founded on the same pretence. The right of promulgating these indulgences in Germany, together with a share in the profits arising from the sale of them, was granted to Albert, elector of Mentz, and archbishop of Magdeburg, who, as his chief agent for retailing them in Saxony, employed Tetzel, a Dominican friar of

licentious morals, who executed his commission with great zeal and success, but without regard to any principles of prudence or decency. At length the trade was carried on with so little attention to the interests of society, that it became a general wish that some check should be given to it. Luther was not an inattentive spectator: he beheld, with concern and indignation, the artifices of those who sold, and the folly or simplicity of those who purchased indulgences. Having examined the subject, and finding that the practice derived no countenance from the Scriptures, he determined openly to protest against such scandalous impositions on his deluded countrymen.

In the year 1517, he attacked, with all the vehemence in his power, from the pulpit, in the great church of Wittemburg, the vices of those very monks who dared openly to distribute indulgences: he tried their doctrines by the standard of Scripture, and exhorted his hearers to look for salvation to

the means appointed by God in his holy word. The boldness and fervour with which he uttered his exhortations did not fail to make a deep and lasting impression on the people, who, suspecting the delusions to which they had been long subject, were ready to join any person, especially one whose character for integrity stood so high as Luther's, in throwing off a yoke which they were scarcely able to endure. Luther was not content with undeceiving the persons who crowded round his pulpit; he advanced with dignity to a higher authority; he wrote to Albert, elector of Mentz, and archbishop of Magdeburg, remonstrating against the false opinions, as well as the wicked lives, of the defenders and distributors of indulgences, entreating him, in a most supplicatory tone, to exercise the authority vested in him for correcting these evils. The archbishop was, however, too deeply interested in these abuses to lend a hand in putting an end to them. In addition to his letter, Luther transmit-

ted to the prelate ninety-five theses, which he had proposed as subjects of inquiry and disputation, and which he had publicly fixed in a church at Wittemburg, with a challenge to the learned to oppose on a given day, either in person or by writing; and to the whole he added a solemn protestation of his profound respect for the apostolic see, and implicit submission to its authority. On the appointed day no person appeared to contest Luther's theses, which rapidly spread all over Germany, and excited universal admiration of the boldness which he discovered in venturing to call in question the papal power and authority, and to attack the Dominicans, armed, as they were, with all the terrors of the inquisitorial authority. The friars of his own order were delighted with his invectives against the monks who sold indulgences, and were anxious to see them exposed to the hatred and scorn of the people; and he was secretly encouraged in his proceedings by his sovereign, the

elector of Saxony, who thought they might contribute to give some check to the exactions of the court of Rome, which the secular princes had been long unsuccessfully endeavouring to oppose. The publication of Luther's theses brought into the field many zealous champions in defence of the holy church, who were less eager for the dissemination of the truth, than for the profits which existing abuses afforded them, and who accordingly traduced the character of Luther, endeavouring to excite the indignation of the clergy and populace against him. Luther, however, was not to be terrified by any measures which his present adversaries could adopt: he found a large body of the people adhering to his doctrines, and he was content, in their behalf, to go through evil report as well as good report: he even went so far, in a public declaration, as to say, "that if the Pope and cardinals entertained the same opinions with his opponents, and set up any authority against that of Scripture,

there could be no doubt but that Rome was itself the very seat of antichrist, and that it would be happy for those countries which should separate themselves from her."

It does not appear that, at this early period, Luther had any intention of setting himself against the power of the Pope ; he even wrote a letter to his holiness in the most respectful terms, shewing the uprightness of his intentions, and the justice of the cause of which he was the advocate. Shortly after this, by the incessant representations of Luther's adversaries, that the heretical notions he was propagating threatened the most fatal mischiefs to the interests of the church, Leo issued an order for his appearing at Rome to justify himself. The judges of his conduct were already appointed and selected on account of their hostility to him. The reformer, by means of his own petitions, and the interference of those friendly to his cause, was allowed to be heard at Augsburg, instead of being obliged

to travel to Rome. Even here, his avowed enemy, cardinal Cajetan, was appointed to try the merits of the question. Luther arrived at Augsburg in the month of October, 1518, and was immediately admitted into the presence of the cardinal, who, in their several interviews, would not condescend to argue the matter with a person of such inferior rank : but, by the mere dictate of authority, required Luther, by virtue of the apostolic powers with which he was invested, to retract the opinions which he had advanced, and to submit, without hesitation, to the judgment of the Pope. Luther, though for the moment surprised at the demand of recantation, declared that he could not, with a safe conscience, renounce opinions which he believed to be true, nor should any consideration induce him to do what would be so base in itself and so offensive to God : still, however, he declared his readiness to submit to the lawful determination of the church. He went much farther : he expressed a willingness to refer

the controversy to certain universities which he named, and promised neither to write nor preach concerning indulgences, provided the same silence with respect to them were enjoined on his adversaries. These offers were rejected by the cardinal, who peremptorily insisted upon a simple recantation, and, at the same time, forbade the reformer to enter again into his presence, unless he came prepared to comply with what he required. As he had no intention to submit, he thought it more prudent to withdraw, which he did in as private a manner as possible, having first prepared a formal and solemn appeal from the Pope, who was then ignorant of his cause, to the Pope, at a time when he should have received more full and explicit information with respect to it.

The sudden departure of Luther enraged the papal legate, who wrote to the elector of Saxony, requiring him to withdraw his protection from so seditious a person, and either to send him prisoner to Rome, or to

banish him from his territories. The elector refused to comply with either of these requests, though with many external professions of esteem for the cardinal ; but he at the same time assured Luther privately, that he would not desert him. Being thus ably supported, Luther continued to vindicate his opinions, and he gave a challenge to all the inquisitors to come and dispute with him at Wittemburg, promising them not only a safe-conduct from the elector, but liberal entertainment, free from all expenses, while they continued at that place. In the mean time Leo's ambition urged him to issue a bull, by which he attempted, by his papal authority, to put an end to the dispute about indulgences, and in this public paper, he magnified, almost without bounds, the efficacy of indulgences, and imperiously commanded all Christians to assent to what he delivered, as the doctrine of the Holy Catholic Church. Luther was now satisfied that the storm would speedily fall upon him, and therefore had recourse

to the only expedient left him, to ward off the effect of papal censures, by appealing from the pontiff to a general council, which he maintained to be superior in authority to the Pope. In January 1519 the emperor died, which rendered it expedient for the court of Rome to suspend any direct proceedings against Luther; for by this event the vicariat of that part of Germany, which is governed by Saxon laws, devolved on the elector of Saxony, and was executed by him during the interregnum which preceded the election of the emperor Charles V. Under the administration of this prince, Luther enjoyed tranquillity, and his opinions were suffered to take root, and even to grow up with some degree of strength and firmness.

Leo now hoped he should be able to bring back Luther to submission and obedience, without having recourse to harsh measures. He accordingly fixed on Charles Miltitz, a Saxon knight, a person endowed with much prudence and dexterity, whom

he sent into Saxony as his legate, to present the elector with a golden consecrated rose, as a mark of peculiar distinction, and also to treat with Luther about the means of reconciling him to the court of Rome. Miltitz, by his great address and soothing manners, and his encomiums on Luther's character, produced a considerable effect on his mind, and he made such concessions as proved, that his principles as a reformer were by no means steadily fixed. He agreed to observe a profound silence on the subject of indulgences, provided his adversaries were bound to the same measures; and he wrote a humble and submissive letter to the Pope, acknowledging he had carried his zeal and animosity too far; and he even consented to publish a circular letter, exhorting his followers and adherents to reverence and obey the dictates of the Holy Roman Church.

Had the court of Rome been sufficiently prudent, and accepted this submission of Luther, and prevented its own cham-

pions from engaging in the field of controversy, the cause of the reformation would have been lost. But the inconsiderate zeal of some of Luther's opponents, renewed the divisions which were so nearly healed, and obliged Luther and his followers to examine deeper into the enormities which prevailed in the papal hierarchy, as well as the doctrines of the church. During this year a famous controversy was carried on at Leipsic, on the challenge of Eckius, between himself and Carlostadt, concerning the freedom of the will, and at the same time he urged Luther to enter the lists with him, on the subject of the Pope's authority and supremacy. The challenge was accepted, and on the appointed day the three champions appeared in the field. The assembly which met to witness the combat was numerous and splendid, and each of the combatants conducted himself with great skill and dexterity; in the course of the debate, Luther no doubt was carried farther than he

dreamed of going, led on from one argument to another: he at length maintained, that the church of Rome, in the earlier ages, had never been considered as superior to other churches, and combated the pretensions of that church and its bishop, from the testimony of Scripture, the authority of the fathers, and the most approved ecclesiastical historians, and even from the decrees, of the council of Nice, while the best arguments of his adversary were derived from the spurious decretals, none of which could boast of an antiquity equal to that of four centuries. Hoffman, the president, refused to declare on which side victory had fallen, and the question was referred to the universities of Paris and Erfurt. Eckius clearly saw that the auditors generally declared in favour of the arguments made use of by his adversary, and from this moment he breathed fury and revenge against Luther. The latter had, however, the happiness to know, that he had convinced the celebrated Philip

Melancthon, at that time professor of the Greek, at the university of Wittemburg, of the justice of his cause, and he soon after found a vigorous auxiliary in Ulric Zuingle, a canon of Zurich, in Switzerland, whose extensive learning and uncommon sagacity were accompanied with the utmost intrepidity and resolution. The party of reformers now was great in the talents, and illustrious in the characters of their leaders, who made, at this period, the utmost efforts to draw over Erasmus to their side. The reputation and authority of this great scholar were of the highest weight in Europe, as well on account of his talents as of his strictures upon the errors of the church, and upon the ignorance and vices of the clergy. He had sown the seeds which Luther cherished and brought to maturity, but was, however, too wary to entangle himself so deeply in the dispute as to lead him into any danger. About this time the universities of Cologne and Louvain took part against Luther, against

whose decrees he immediately wrote with his usual spirit and intrepidity. Eckius likewise repaired to Rome, intent on accomplishing the ruin of Luther, and he thought he had performed the deed when, by his exertions and influence, Pope Leo assembled the college of cardinals to prepare a sentence against him with such deliberation, as it was hoped no exception could be taken, either with regard to form or matter.

On the 15th of June 1520, the bull was issued, in which forty-one propositions, extracted from Luther's works, were condemned as heretical and scandalous, and all persons were forbidden to read his writings on pain of excommunication; those who possessed any of them were commanded under severe penalties to commit them to the flames. Luther himself, if he did not within sixty days publicly recant his errors, and burn his books, was pronounced an obstinate heretic, excommunicated, and delivered unto Satan for the

destruction of the flesh ; and all secular princes were required, under pain of incurring the same censure, to seize his person, that he might be punished as his crimes should be found to merit. Short-sighted priests, and rash bigots, contemplated in this sentence the ruin of Luther, and the termination of those principles which he had espoused ; but it has proved fatal only to the church which uttered it, and to the cause which it was intended to support. When an account of what had happened was brought to Luther, he was neither disconcerted nor intimidated, but calmly consulted the most proper means of present defence, and future security. He appealed a second time to a general council, and came to the resolution of voluntarily renouncing communion with the church of Rome, and in justification of his own conduct, which he might well expect would be every where, though not by all persons, condemned, he exposed to the world, without the least disguise or cere-

mony, the abominable corruptions and delusions of the papal hierarchy : he went still farther, and without hesitation declared, in the most solemn manner, before the whole world, that the Pope was the predicted “man of sin,” the anti-christ set forth in the writings of the New Testament. Being now released from all obedience to the Pope, and setting himself up in opposition to his power, he declaimed, without scruple, against his tyranny, and he exhorted all Christian princes to shake off the ignominious yoke which had been so long imposed on them, but the weight of which neither they nor their fathers could well bear. He made it the theme of his joy and exultation, that he was marked out as an object of ecclesiastical indignation, because he had ventured to assert and vindicate the liberty of mankind. Luther proceeded from words to acts ; Leo had burnt the books of Luther, and he, by way of returning the compliment, assembled all the professors and students of the university of

Wittemburg, and with much ceremony, in the presence of a prodigious multitude of people of all ranks and orders, committed to the flames the Pope's bull, and the decretals and canons relating to his supreme jurisdiction : the example was soon followed in several cities of Germany. He next collected from the canon law some of the most extravagant propositions with respect to the omnipotence of the papal power, and the subordination of all secular jurisdiction to the authority of the holy see, which he published with a commentary, pointing out the impiety of such tenets, and their evident tendency to subvert all civil government. Within a month after this, a second bull was issued against him, by which he was expelled from communion with the church, for having insulted the majesty, and disowned the supremacy of the Roman pontiff. The intimidating power of papal condemnation had now lost its effect in Germany, and the bull of Leo put his antagonist upon the project of founding a

church upon principles directly opposite to those of Rome, and to establish in it a system of doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline, more consonant with the spirit and precepts of the gospel.

From this time Luther never ceased to attack the corruptions of the church of Rome, and his reasoning made deep impressions upon the minds of the people; their respect and reverence for ancient institutions and doctrines in which they had been educated were shaken. Students crowded from all parts of the empire to Wittenburg, and under Luther, Melancthon, Carlostadt, and other eminent, and, for the time, truly enlightened professors, imbibed principles, which, on their return, they propagated among their countrymen with zeal and ardour. On the arrival of Charles V. in Germany, the first act of his administration was to assemble a diet of the empire at Worms. This meeting was fixed for the sixth of January 1521; in the circular letter to the different princes, the

emperor informed them that the express purpose of this meeting was to concert with them the proper measures for checking the progress of those new and dangerous opinions, which threatened to disturb the peace of Germany, and overthrow the religion of their ancestors. At the same time the Pope gave notice to the elector of Saxony, of the decree which he had issued against the heresies of Luther, and requested that he would so far concur with him as to cause all the writings of Luther to be publicly burnt, and that he would either put the author of them to death, or imprison him, or at least send him to Rome. He sent a similar message to Wittemburg, but neither the elector nor the university paid any attention to the exhortations of his holiness. To the elector of Saxony Luther was under infinite obligations, as by him alone was the emperor prevented from taking steps which would have been fatal to the progress of his cause. As soon as the diet was assembled at Worms the papal

legates insisted that they were bound, without deliberation, to condemn a man whom the Pope had already excommunicated as an obstinate heretic. The emperor in this was ready to acquiesce, but the elector again stepped forth in defence of Luther, and not only prevented the publication of any unjust edict against him, but insisted that he ought to have his cause tried by the canons of the Germanic church, and the laws of the empire. It was therefore resolved, that Luther should be summoned before the diet, and be allowed a hearing before any final sentence should be pronounced against him. To protect him against the violence of his enemies, the emperor, and all the princes through whose territories he was to pass, granted him a safe-conduct, and Charles himself wrote to require his immediate attendance, renewing, in the most solemn manner, his assurances of protection from injury or ill-treatment. Luther had no sooner received the summons than he prepared to obey it. Nor

could the remonstrances of his friends prevent him from running the risk of being treated as his books had been already treated. Some of them anxious for his safety, reminded him of the fate of the celebrated Huss under similar circumstances, and protected by the same security of an imperial safe-conduct, and filled with solicitude, advised and entreated him not to rush wantonly into danger. But Luther with calmness and dignity replied, "I am lawfully called to appear at Worms, and thither will I go in the name of the most high God, though as many devils, as there are tiles on the houses, were combined against me."

On the 16th of April Luther arrived at Worms, where greater crowds are said to have assembled to behold him, than had ever appeared at the emperor's public entry. While he continued in that city, he was not only treated with respect, but his apartments were resorted to by persons of high rank, and by the princes of the empire. Before the diet he behaved

with becoming respect ; acknowledged that he had sometimes been carried away by the ardour of his temper, and that the vehemence of his writings could not always be justified. While, however, he readily admitted his errors, he showed no inclination to renounce a single important principle which he had been promulgating, and he displayed the utmost presence of mind when he was called on to plead his cause before the grand assembly, on the 17th and 18th of April. That his reasonings should not change the minds of those who came to condemn, cannot be a matter of surprize, but when he was called on to recant, he solemnly declared that he would neither abandon his principles, nor materially change his conduct, unless he were previously convinced, by the Scriptures, or the force of reasoning, that his sentiments were erroneous and his conduct unlawful. Enraged at his unbending spirit, some of the ecclesiastics proposed, notwithstanding the promises made to the

contrary, to avail themselves of the opportunity of having an enemy in their power, to deliver the church at once from such a pestilent heretic. But the members of the diet and the emperor also refused to act in a manner that must blast their character for ever with the world, and Luther was permitted to depart in safety. Scarcely, however, had he left the city, when, in the emperor's name, and by the authority of the diet, he was, in a most severe edict, pronounced an obstinate heretic, a member cut off from the church, deprived of the privileges which he had enjoyed as a subject of the empire, and the severest punishments were denounced against those who should receive, entertain, or countenance him, either by acts of hospitality, by conversation, or writing ; and all were required to concur in seizing his person, as soon as the term of his safe-conduct expired. This decree produced scarcely any effect : the emperor was too much engaged by the commotions in Spain, and in the

wars in Italy and the Low Countries, to attend to Luther, and the sovereign princes who had not been present at the diet, and who felt for the liberties of the empire, and the rights of the Germanic church, treated it with the highest indignation, or the utmost contempt. Luther was still, to the elector of Saxony, the object of his most anxious solicitude; and the measures which he adopted at this critical juncture, effectually secured him from the threatening storm. In consequence of a preconcerted plan, and, as some historians have imagined, not without the knowledge of the emperor, as Luther was on his journey, near Eisenach, a number of horsemen in masks rushed out of a wood, and surrounding his company, carried him off with the utmost speed to the castle of Wartenburg. There the noble-minded elector ordered him to be supplied with every thing that he could want, but the place of his retreat was kept a profound secret. The sudden disappearance of Luther not

only occasioned the most bitter disappointment to his adversaries, but rendered them doubly odious to the people of Germany, who, not knowing what was become of their leader in reformation, conjectured a thousand things, till at length they were ready to give him up as destroyed by the fury of his enemies. Luther was, however, living in peace, and in the enjoyment of whatever was necessary to his well being and to his amusement ; he was frequently indulged with the exercise of hunting in the company of those who had the charge of him, living in this retirement under the name of Yonker George. During the period of his solitude, he translated a great part of the New Testament into the German language, wrote and published tracts in defence of his doctrines, which, as soon as they were seen, revived and animated the spirit of his followers, and wrote frequent letters to his friends ; he had also, during this period, the satisfaction of knowing that his opinions were gaining ground,

and that they had already made some progress in almost every city in Saxony. Luther, weary at length of his retirement, appeared publicly at Wittemburg, in March 1522 : this step he took without the elector's knowledge or consent, but he immediately wrote him a letter to prevent the possibility of his taking offence, assigning as a reason, that it was in consequence of the information which he had received of the proceedings of Carlostadt, one of his disciples, who was animated with similar zeal, but possessed less prudence and moderation than his master. This person, in the absence of Luther, had attempted to abolish the use of mass, to remove images out of the churches, to set aside auricular confession, the invocation of saints, and in short had quite changed the doctrine and discipline of the church at Wittemburg, all which Luther said was unseasonably and rashly done. At this time the doctrines of the reformer were not known in France ; and in England, the sovereign,

Henry VIII. had made the most vigorous exertions to prevent them from invading his realms : he even undertook to write them down, in a treatise entitled “ Of the Seven Sacraments,” &c. This work he presented to Leo X. in October 1521. The Pope was so well pleased with the royal attempt to confute the arguments of Luther, that he complimented him with the title of “ Defender of the Faith.” Whatever respect and reverence Luther might shew to kings as such, he had none for the arguments of an antagonist, though armed with royal authority, and answered Henry with much severity, treating his performance in the most contemptuous manner. Luther now published his translation of the Scriptures, which produced sudden, and almost incredible effects on the people of Germany, and proved more fatal to the church of Rome than all his other works. It was read with the utmost avidity by persons of every rank, who, with astonishment, discovered how contrary the

precepts of Christ are to the inventions of his pretended vicegerents, and being in possession of the rule and standard of faith, they conceived themselves qualified to judge of established opinions, and to pronounce when they were conformable to that standard. About this time several imperial cities in Germany abolished the mass, and the other superstitious rites of popery, and openly embraced the reformed religion. The elector of Brandenburg, the dukes of Brunswick and Lunenburg, and the prince of Anhalt, became avowed patrons of Luther's opinions, and countenanced the preaching of them in their territories. Luther now made open war with the Pope and bishops, and to render them as despicable as possible, he wrote one book against the Pope's bull, and another against the order falsely called the order of the bishops. The same year he wrote to the assembly of the states of Bohemia, in which he assured them that he was labouring to establish their doctrine

in Germany, and exhorted them not to return to the communion of the church of Rome. Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, the emperor's brother, promulgated a very severe edict against the translation of the Scriptures, and forbad all the subjects of his imperial majesty to possess any copies of it, or of Luther's other works. In this state of things Leo X. died, and was succeeded on the papal throne by Adrian VI. who immediately concerted measures with his cardinals concerning the best means for stopping the progress of heresy. The diet of the empire was holden soon after at Nuremburg, to which Adrian sent his brief, in which he observes, that he had heard with grief and indignation, that Martin Luther continued to teach the same errors, and to publish almost daily books full of heresies ; that it appeared strange to him that so large and so religious a nation could be seduced by a wretched apostate friar ; that nothing, however, could be more pernicious to christendom, and that

he therefore accordingly exhorts them to use their utmost endeavours to make Luther, and the authors of these tumults return to their duty; or, if they refuse and continue obstinate, to proceed against them according to the laws of the empire.

The admonitions of his holiness produced no effect whatever, and the disciples of Luther advanced in their career with exultation and triumph. In 1523, Luther published several pieces; among these were some on monastic life, which he attacked with great severity, and his exhortations, united with much strong satire, produced important effects, for soon after nine nuns, among whom was Catharine de Bore, whom he afterwards married, eloped from a nunnery and came to Wittemburg, an act that was as highly applauded by the reformer, as it was condemned by the devotees to the Roman church. Luther compares the deliverance of these nuns from the slavery of monastic life to that of the souls which Christ had delivered by his death. This

year two of the followers of Luther were burnt at Brussels, and these were the first who suffered martyrdom for his cause : and about the same time that this tragical event was perpetrated, he wrote a consolatory letter to three noble ladies at Misnia, who were banished from the duke of Saxony's court at Friburg, for reading his books.

On the death of Adrian VI. Clement VII. who succeeded him, sent a legate to the diet which was to be held at Nuremberg, to urge the necessity of a speedy execution of the edict of Worms : he was unsuccessful in the object of his mission, and found that the German princes, in general, were not at all inimical to the reformation ; he accordingly retired to Ratisbon with the bishops, and those of the princes who adhered to the cause of Rome, where they engaged vigorously to execute the edict of Worms in their respective dominions. It was in the course of this year that the controversy between Erasmus and Luther on the doctrine of " free-will " commenced. Eras-

mus had been long urged to take up his pen against the reformer, though it was with the greatest reluctance that he yielded to the importunities of the Pope and Catholic princes, suspecting that it would not be found the best mode of ending the differences and establishing the peace of the church. At length he stood forward in defence of the doctrine of free-will, being desirous to clear himself from the suspicion of favouring a cause which he would not wish to be thought in any way to favour. His book was entitled a "Conference concerning Free-will," which was written with much moderation, and without personal reflections. To soften the anger of Luther, he says in his preface, "That he ought not to take it ill that he dissents from his opinions in particular points, as he had allowed himself the liberty of differing from the judgment of popes, universities, and doctors in the church." It was some time before Luther took up his pen in defence of his own positions, but his answer was extremely

severe : he accused his opponent of "being careless about religion, and little solicitous what became of it, provided the world continued in peace ; and that his notions were rather philosophical than dictated by Christian truth." Luther was next engaged in a controversy with Carlostadt, respecting the eucharist. Though Luther had renounced the doctrine of "transubstantiation," according to which the bread and wine were changed by consecration into the body and blood of Christ, yet he thought that the partakers of the Lord's supper received in some mystical way, with bread and wine, the real body and blood of Christ. This doctrine obtained the name of "consubstantiation." Carlostadt, who, as we have seen, was the disciple of Luther, maintained that the body of Christ was not actually present, but that the bread and wine were no more than external signs, or symbols, designed to excite in the minds of Christians the remembrance of the sufferings and death of

Christ, and of the benefits which arise from them. This opinion was universally embraced by all the friends of the reformation in Switzerland, and by a considerable number of its votaries in Germany, but it was the commencement of a controversy that was carried on with much bitterness, which notwithstanding the endeavours that were used to reconcile the contending parties, terminated at length in a fatal division between those who had embarked together in the sacred cause of religion and liberty, and which contributed to retard the progress of the reformation.

In the month of October, 1524, Luther threw off the monastic habit, which, though not premeditated and designed, was regarded as a very proper introduction to a step which he took the following year, viz. his marriage to Catharine, the person already referred to, who had eloped from the nunnery of Nimptchen. This measure exposed him to much obloquy from his own friends, as well as from the Catholics. He

was even ashamed of it himself, and acknowledged that it made him so despicable, that he hoped his humiliation would give joy to angels, and be a source of vexation to devils. Melancthon found him so much afflicted with his past conduct that he wrote some letters of consolation to him. It was not, it is said, so much the marriage, as the circumstances of the time, and the precipitation with which it was done, that occasioned the censures passed upon Luther. He married suddenly, and at a time when Germany was groaning under the miseries of a war which had been occasioned by the introduction of the new doctrines. Luther soon recovered from the abasement into which he had for a season fallen, and then assumed his former air of intrepidity, and boldly supported what he had done. "I took," said he, "a wife, in obedience to my father's commands, and hastened the consummation, to prevent impediments, and stop the tongues of slanderers."

About this period Luther lost by death

his friend, and the fast friend of the reformation, Frederick, elector of Saxony ; but the blow was less sensibly felt, as he was succeeded by his brother John, a more avowed and zealous, but less able, patron of Luther and his doctrines. Frederick had been a kind of mediator between the Roman pontiff and the reformers of Wittemburg, and had always entertained the hope of restoring peace, in the church, and of so reconciling the contending parties, as to prevent a separation either in point of ecclesiastical jurisdiction or religious communion : hence, though rather favorable to the innovations of Luther, he took no pains to introduce any change into the churches of his own dominions, nor to subject them to his jurisdiction. But his successor acted very differently ; he ordered a body of laws relating to the form of ecclesiastical government, the method of public worship, the rank, offices, and revenues of the priesthood, and other matters of that nature, to be drawn up by Luther and Melancthon,

which he afterwards promulgated throughout his dominions. The example of this prince was followed by all the other princes and states of Germany, who renounced the papal supremacy and jurisdiction. The Lutherans were now threatened with a grievous persecution, which the public troubles of Europe only prevented from being carried into execution: they, on the other hand, were not negligent in taking effectual measures for defending themselves against the superstition and violence of their adversaries, and formed the plan of a confederacy for that prudent purpose.

In June 1526, a diet of the empire was held at Spires, at which Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, presided, Charles being fully occupied with the troubles in Spain and Italy. When the state of religion came before the assembly, the emperor's ambassadors used their utmost endeavours to obtain a resolution, that all disputes about religion should be suppressed, and that the sentence which had been pronounced at

Worms against Luther and his followers should be put into rigorous execution, but it was agreed, that they could not execute that sentence, nor come to any determination with respect to the doctrines by which it had been occasioned, before the whole matter was submitted to the cognizance of a general council, lawfully assembled. An address to the emperor was unanimously agreed on, beseeching him to assemble, without delay, a free and general council; and it was also resolved, that in the mean time, the princes and states of the empire should, in their respective dominions, be at liberty to manage ecclesiastical matters in the manner which they should think expedient; yet so as to be able to give an account of their administration to God and the emperor. This was a resolution the most favorable to the cause of Lutheranism; and several potentates, whom the dread of persecution had hitherto prevented from declaring for the reformation, being now delivered from their restraint, renounced pub-

licly the superstition of Rome, and introduced among them the same form of religious worship, and the same system of doctrine, which had been received in Saxony. Luther and his fellow labourers, in the mean time, by their writings, their instructions, their admonitions, and their councils, were carrying on their great cause with a spirit suitable to the importance and greatness of their undertaking. But this encouraging state of affairs was not of long duration: the emperor began to take measures for the recovery of those prerogatives which had been snatched from his predecessors, and which were necessary to the promotion of his ambitious schemes. For this purpose he regarded it as necessary to suppress opinions which might form new bonds of confederacy among the princes of the empire, and unite them by ties stronger and more sacred than any political connection. He accordingly resolved to employ all the means in his power for the full establishment of the religion of which he was

regarded the natural protector ; considering this as the instrument by which he could extend his civil authority. He appointed, for this purpose, a diet of the empire to be held at Spires, in the spring of 1529, for the express purpose of taking into consideration the state of religion. In that diet the archduke Ferdinand presided, and had the address to procure a majority approving a decree, which declared it unlawful to introduce any change in the doctrine, discipline, or worship of the established religion, before the determination of a general council were known. This decree was exceedingly revolting to the elector of Saxony, and other princes, as well as to the deputies of fourteen imperial cities, who, in a body, when they found their arguments and remonstrances of no avail, entered their solemn *protest* against it, on the 19th of April 1529, and appealed to the emperor and a future council. On this account they were distinguished by the name of **PROTESTANTS**, which, from this period, has

applied to all sects of whatever denomination which have separated themselves from the Roman church. The protesting princes sent embassies to the emperor, which were ill received; and in answer to one of them, they received an account that he was determined to come into Germany, with a view to terminate, in a diet to be held at Augsburg, in June 1530, the religious disputes which had produced so many and grievous divisions in the empire.— Charles had many consultations with Pope Clement VII. concerning the most effectual means for that purpose.

In these interviews the emperor insisted, in the most urgent manner, on the necessity of assembling a general council: to this his holiness was a decided enemy, because he had learnt from history that general councils were factious, ungovernable, and slow in their operations; and he contended that the surest way was for the emperor to do his duty, in supporting the authority of the church, and in employing

all his power in executing speedy vengeance on the obstinate heretical factions, who dared to call in question the authority of the holy Roman see. Charles was still for mild and conciliatory measures, but promised if these should prove ineffectual, that then he would employ the weight of his authority in reducing the rebellious to implicit obedience. In his journey to Augsburg he had full opportunity of knowing the sentiments of the people, and, from his own observation, he was satisfied that severity ought not to be attempted until other measures proved ineffectual: he therefore called on the elector of Saxony to obtain from Luther, and other eminent divines, a written explication of their religious system, and an explicit avowal of the several points in which they differed from the church of Rome. Luther delivered to the elector at Torgaw seventeen articles, called "The articles of Torgaw," which were deemed by him a proper declaration of the sentiments of the reformed.

By others they were not thought sufficiently open, and Melancthon was desired to give an account of the same, who, with a due respect to the sentiments of Luther, expressed his opinions, and set forth his doctrine, with the greatest elegance and perspicuity, and in terms as little offensive as possible to their opponents. Such was the origin of the creed, celebrated in history as "The confession of Augsburg." In June 1530, the diet was opened: and in a few days, the Protestants, who had adopted the opinions of Zuingle, delivered their confession, drawn up by Martin Bucer. A refutation of this was undertaken by Faber, Eckius, and Cochläus, which was read publicly in the diet; and the unlimited submission of the Protestants to the doctrines contained in it was required by the emperor. Instead, however, of yielding obedience to the imperial command, they demanded a copy of the paper, in order that they might have an opportunity of demonstrating more fully

its extreme insufficiency and weakness. This request was refused, and there was now no prospect of a reconciliation. The emperor next attempted to bring over to his views the princes who had been some time the patrons of the new doctrines : but however desirous they might be of obliging the emperor, they would not make sacrifices to him of their integrity, and, in a firm tone, refused to abandon what they deemed the cause of God, for the sake of any earthly acquisition. The emperor, disappointed and exceedingly vexed, resolved to take vigorous measures for asserting the authority and doctrines of the established church, and enforcing the submission of heretics. He accordingly condemned the peculiar tenets held by the Protestants, forbidding any person to protect or even tolerate such as taught them, enjoining a strict observance of the established rites, and prohibiting any further innovation under severe penalties. This decree, which was regarded as a prelude

to the most violent persecution, convinced the Protestants that the emperor was resolved on their destruction; and the dread of the calamities which were ready to fall on the church oppressed the spirit of Melancthon, who resigned himself to a settled melancholy. Luther, however, was not at all disheartened, and used his utmost efforts to keep up the spirits of those who were willing to give way; being assured that their personal safety, as well as success, depended wholly on union. In pursuance of this opinion, they assembled in 1530, first at Smalcalde, and afterwards at Frankfort, where they formed a solemn alliance and confederacy, with the resolution of defending vigorously their religion and liberties against the dangers with which they were threatened by the edict of Augsburg. They invited the kings of England, France, and Denmark, to join in the confederacy; and, by their negociations, secured powerful protection and assistance, in case of necessity. Luther was at first

averse from this confederacy, dreading the calamities which it might produce. In this state of things, the elector palatine and the elector of Mentz offered their mediation, and endeavoured to reconcile the contending princes ; and, in a short time, negotiations were carried on, that finally produced a pacification, the terms of which were agreed upon at Nuremburg, and solemnly ratified in the diet at Ratisbon, August, 3d, 1532. By this treaty, the Protestant princes, engaged to assist the emperor with all their forces, in resisting the invasion of the Turks ; and it was stipulated that universal peace should be established in Germany, until the meeting of a general council, the convocation of which the emperor was to endeavour to procure within six months ; that no person should be molested on account of religion ; that a stop should be put to all processes begun by the imperial chamber against the Protestants ; and that the sentences already passed to their detriment should be declared void.

Luther now had the satisfaction and happiness of seeing one of the chief obstacles to the undisguised profession of his opinions removed ; and henceforth he might sit down and contemplate the mighty work which he had accomplished : his disciples and followers, the Protestants of Germany, who had hitherto been regarded only as a religious sect, came to be considered as a political body of some consequence. The emperor, in conformity to the stipulations of the truce lately concluded, applied to the Pope for a general council : but Clement threw a multitude of obstacles in the way to prevent it ; and when he found that to be impossible, he insisted that the meeting should be held in Italy, but the Protestants contended for it in Germany. The latter insisted that all matters in dispute should be determined by the words of Scripture alone ; the Pope asserted that the decrees of the church and the opinions of the fathers were of equal authority. They required a free council, in which the di-

vines, commissioned by different churches, should be allowed a voice ; he aimed at modelling the council in such a manner as would render it entirely dependent on his pleasure. Above all, the Protestants thought it unreasonable that they should bind themselves to submit to the decrees of a council, before they knew on what principles those decrees were founded, by what persons they were to be pronounced, and what forms of proceeding they would observe. The Pope maintained it would be unnecessary to call a council, unless those who demanded it previously declared their resolution to acquiesce in its decrees. The meeting was accordingly postponed during the pontificate of Clement VII.

In 1533 Luther wrote a consolatory epistle to some persons who had suffered hardships for adhering to the Augsburg confession of faith, in which he says, "The devil is the host, and the world is his inn ; so that wherever you come, you will be sure to find this ugly host." He had also

about this time, a terrible controversy with George, duke of Saxony, who had such an aversion to the doctrines promulgated by Luther, that he obliged his subjects to take an oath that they would never embrace them. At Leipsic there were found sixty or seventy persons, who could not be restrained within the boundaries of the established creed, and it was discovered that they had consulted Luther about it; upon which the duke complained to the elector, that Luther had not only abused his person, but had preached up rebellion among his subjects. Luther refuted the accusation, by proving that he had been so far from stirring up his subjects against him, on the score of religion, that he had exhorted them rather to undergo the greatest hardships, and even suffer themselves to be banished. In the following year, the bible, translated by Luther into the German, was first printed, with the privilege of the elector; and it was published the year after. He likewise gave to the world a book against

masses, and the consecration of priests, in which he relates a conference which he had with the devil upon those points : for it is a circumstance worthy of observation, that in the whole history of this great man, he never had any conflicts of any kind, but the devil was always his antagonist. In 1535 the new Pope Paul III. was applied to for a general council ; and in the hope of preventing it, he appointed Mantua as the proper place. To this some of the Catholic sovereigns, and all the German Protestants, strongly objected ; being fully persuaded that, in such a council, nothing would be concluded but what would be agreeable to the sentiments and ambition of the pontiff ; and they demanded the performance of the emperor's promise, that they should have a council in Germany. At the same time, that they might not be taken by surprise, they desired Luther to draw up a summary of their doctrine, in order to present it to the assembled bishops, if it should be required of them. This summary, which

was distinguished by the name of "The articles of Smalcalde," from the place at which they were assembled, is generally joined with the creeds and confessions of the Lutheran church. While our reformer was busily engaged in this work, he was seized with a grievous and very painful disease, a fit of the stone and obstruction of the urine, which continued so long as to give his friends serious apprehensions for his life. In the midst of his agonies, and after eleven days' torture, without the smallest relief, he set out, contrary to the advice of his friends, on his return home. The motion of the carriage, which it was expected would prove fatal to him, was the cause of removing the evil under which he was labouring. In the year 1538, as a general assembly seemed impracticable, the Pope, that he might not seem to neglect that degree of reformation which was unquestionably within his power, deputed a certain number of cardinals and bishops, with full authority, to inquire into the abuses and

corruptions of the Roman court, and to propose the most effectual method of removing them. It was intended to do as little as possible, still a multitude of enormities were unveiled, an account of which was soon transmitted into Germany, much to the satisfaction of the Protestants there. This investigation, partial as it was, proved the necessity of a reformation in the head as well as the members of the church ; and it even pointed out many of the corruptions against which Luther had remonstrated with the greatest vehemence. It was, however, intended only as a farce, and as such Luther treated it ; and to ridicule it more strongly, he caused a caricature to be drawn, in which was represented the Pope seated on a high throne, some cardinals about him with foxes' tails, with which they were brushing off the dust on all sides. Luther published, about the same time, "A Confutation of the pretended Grant of Constantine to Sylvester, bishop of Rome ; and also some Letters of John Huss, written

from his Prison at Constance, to the Bohemians." On the death of George duke of Saxony, the succession devolved on his brother Henry, who was zealously attached to the Protestant religion, and who, notwithstanding a clause in his brother's will, by which he bequeathed all his territories to the emperor and the king of the Romans, should Henry make any attempt to introduce innovations, immediately invited Luther and some other Protestant divines to Leipsic. By their aid and advice he quickly overturned the whole system of Popish rites and doctrines, and established the full exercise of the reformed religion, with the universal applause of his subjects, who had long wished for this change. By this revolution, the whole of Saxony was brought within the Protestant pale.

Luther was incessantly employed, till his death, in promoting the cause of which he was the great founder. In the year 1546, he, in company with Melancthon, paid a visit to his own country, which he

had not seen before for many years, and he returned in safety ; but in a short time after, he was called thither by the earls of Mansfeldt, to compose some differences which had arisen about their boundaries. Though he had not been accustomed to such kind of business, yet he would not refuse the service which he might be able to render by his advice and authority. On this occasion he met with a splendid reception, used his best endeavours to settle the matters in dispute, and sometimes officiated in the church ; but the state of his health was so precarious, that it was feared every great effort would prove fatal to him. His last public service was in the church, where he was seized with a violent inflammation in the stomach. His natural intrepidity did not forsake him ; and his last conversation with his friends was concerning the happiness reserved for good men in a future life. On the morning of the 12th of February 1546, being awaked from a sound sleep by his disorder, and perceiving his end to be

approaching, he commended his spirit into the hands of God, and quietly departed this life at the age of sixty-three. He did not forget his cause even in his dying moments, but admonished those about him to pray to God for the propagation of the gospel; "because," said he, "the council of Trent, which has sat once or twice, and the Pope, will devise strange things against it." Immediately after his decease, the body was put into a leaden coffin, and carried with funeral pomp to the church at Eisleben, when Dr. Jonas preached a sermon, on the occasion. The earls of Mansfeldt requested that his body might be interred in their territories, but the elector of Saxony insisted upon his being brought back to Wittemburg which was accordingly done, and he was buried there with greater pomp than had been known to have accompanied the funeral of any private man. Princes, earls, nobles, and students without number, attended the procession, and Melancthon delivered a funeral discourse. He left several

children by his wife Catharine de Bore. Innumerable were the calumnies invented by his enemies respecting his death, his principles, and his conduct, which it is needless to repeat, as they have been amply refuted by the most respectable historians. The zeal and madness of the Papists against their formidable antagonist, who had shaken to the foundation the pillars of their faith, did not cease with his death. They urged the emperor Charles V. while with his army at Wittemburg, to cause the monument erected to his memory to be demolished, and his bones to be dug up and burnt with every indignity ; but the mind of Charles was superior to such childish and malignant acts, and he instantly forbade that any insult should be offered to his tomb, or his remains, upon pain of death. "I have," said the emperor, "nothing farther to do with Luther : he is henceforth subject to another jurisdiction it is not lawful for me to usurp. Know, that I make not war with the dead, but with the living,

who are still in arms against me.” We cannot bring this article to a close, without referring to the testimonies of the learned and the wise, respecting the character of Luther, who introduced, not into Germany only, but into the world, a new and most important era, and whose name can never be forgotten while any thing of principle remains that is deserving of remembrance. It must not be overlooked, that the grand and leading doctrine of Lutheranism, and that on which the permanent foundation of the reformed religion was laid, is the right of private judgment in matters of religion. To this, as we have seen, he was at all times ready to devote his talents, his character, and his life ; and, says the biographer of Leo X. “the great and imperishable merit of the reformer consists in his having demonstrated it by such arguments, as neither the efforts of his adversaries, nor his own subsequent conduct, have been able either to confute or invalidate.” In passing judgment upon the characters of

men, says Robertson, we ought to try them by the principles and maxims of their own age, and not by those of another : for although virtue and vice are at all times the same, manners and customs are continually varying. Some parts of Luther's behaviour, which to us appear most culpable, gave no disgust to his contemporaries. It was even by some of those qualities, which we are now apt to blame, that he was fitted for accomplishing the great work in which he embarked.

Luther himself was sensible of defects, which he pathetically acknowledges in an address to the reader of his works : " I intreat you," says he, " to read my writings with cool consideration, and even with much pity. I wish you to know that when I began the affair of indulgences, I was a monk, and a most mad papist. So intoxicated was I, and drenched in papal dogmas, that I would have been most ready at all times to murder, or assist in murdering, any person who should utter a syl-

lable against the Pope. I was always earnest in defending doctrines I professed. I went seriously to work, as one who had a horrible dread of the day of judgment, and who from his inmost soul was anxious for salvation. You will find, therefore, in my earlier writings, with how much humility, on many occasions, I gave up considerable points to the Pope, which I now detest as blasphemous and abominable in the highest degree. This error my slanderers may call inconsistency ; but you, my pious readers, will have the kindness to make some allowance, on account of the times, and my own inexperience. I stood absolutely alone at first, and certainly was very unlearned, and very unfit to undertake matters of such vast importance. It was by accident, not willingly or by design, that I fell into those violent disputes. God is my witness.”

“ Martin Luther, resenting an affront put on his order, began to preach against abuses in the sale of indulgences, and being

naturally of a fiery temper, and provoked by opposition, he proceeded even to decry indulgences themselves, and was thence carried, by the heat of dispute, to question the authority of the Pope. Still, as he enlarged his reading, in order to support these tenets, he discovered some new abuse or error in the church of Rome, and finding his opinions greedily hearkened to, he promulgated them by writing, discourse, sermons, conference, and daily increased the number of his disciples. All Saxony, all Germany, all Europe, were in a little time filled with the voice of this daring innovator; and men, roused from that lethargy in which they had so long slept, began to call in question the most ancient and received opinions. The elector of Saxony, favourable to Luther's doctrine, protected him from the violence of the papal jurisdiction: the republic of Zurich even reformed their church according to the new model: many sovereigns of the empire, and the imperial edict itself, shew-

ed a favourable disposition towards it : and Luther, a man naturally inflexible, vehement, and opinionative, was become incapable, either from promises of advancement or terrors of severity, to relinquish a sect of which he himself was the founder, and which brought him a glory superior to all others, the glory of dictating the religious faith and principles of multitudes."

Dr. Campbell, in his lectures in Ecclesiastical History, has rendered our reformer his testimony of respect and gratitude ; but as this is conveyed in sentiments and language but little different from the observations of Dr. Robertson, we shall extract the account from the latter rather than the former : " As he was raised up by Providence to be the author of one of the greatest and most interesting revolutions in history, there is not any person, perhaps, whose character had been drawn with such opposite colours. In his own age, one party, struck with horror and inflamed with rage, when they saw with what a daring

hand he overturned every thing which they held to be sacred, or valued as beneficial, imputed to him not only all the defects and vices of a man, but the qualities of a demon. The other, warmed with admiration and gratitude, which they thought he merited as the restorer of light and liberty to the Christian church, ascribed to him perfections above the condition of humanity, and viewed all his actions with a veneration, bordering on that which should be paid only to those who are guided by the immediate inspiration of heaven. It is his own conduct, not the undistinguishing censure, or the exaggerated praise of his contemporaries, that ought to regulate the opinions of the present age concerning him. Zeal for what he regarded as truth, undaunted intrepidity to maintain his own system, abilities, both natural and acquired, to defend his principles, and unwearied industry in propagating them, are virtues which shine conspicuously in every part of his behaviour, that even his enemies

must allow him to have possessed them in an eminent degree. To these may be added, with equal justice, such purity, and even austerity of manners, as became one who assumed the character of a reformer; such sanctity of life as suited the doctrine which he delivered, and such perfect disinterestedness as affords no slight presumption of his sincerity. Superior to all selfish considerations, a stranger to all the elegancies of life, and despising its pleasures, he left the honours and emoluments of the church to his disciples, remaining satisfied himself in his original state of professor of the university, and pastor of the town of Wittenburg, with the moderate appointments annexed to each. His extraordinary qualities were allayed with no inconsiderable mixture of human frailty, and human passions. These, however, were of a nature, that they cannot be imputed to malevolence or corruption of heart, but seem to have taken their rise from the same source with many of his virtues.

Accustomed himself to consider every thing as subordinate to truth, he expected the same deference for it from other men; and, without making any allowances for their timidity or prejudices, he poured forth against such as disappointed him in this particular, a torrent of invective and abuse. Regardless of any distinction of rank or character when his doctrines were attacked, he chastised all his adversaries indiscriminately, with the same rough hand; neither the royal dignity of Henry VIII. nor the eminent learning and abilities of Erasmus, screened them from the same gross abuse with which he treated Tetzels or Eckius. To rouse mankind, when sunk in ignorance and superstition, and to encounter the rage of bigotry armed with power, required the utmost vehemence of zeal, as well as a temper daring to excess. A gentle call would neither have reached, nor have excited those to whom it must have been addressed. A spirit more amiable but less vigorous than Luther's would

have shrunk back from dangers which he braved and surmounted. Towards the close of Luther's life, though without any perceptible diminution of his zeal and abilities, the infirmities of his temper increased upon him, so that he grew daily more peevish, more irascible, and more impatient of contradiction. Having lived to be a witness of his own amazing success; to see a great part of Europe embrace his doctrines, and to shake the foundation of papal Rome, before which the mightiest monarchs had trembled, he discovered, on some occasions, symptoms of vanity and self-applause. He must have been, indeed, more than man, if, upon contemplating all that he actually accomplished, he had never felt any sentiment of this kind rising in his breast." There is yet another testimony to the life and labours of this great man that we cannot omit :

"Martin Luther's life," says bishop Atterbury, "was a continual warfare; he was engaged against the united forces of

the papal world, and he stood the shock of them bravely, both with courage and success. He was a man certainly of high endowments of mind and great virtues: he had a vast understanding which raised him to a pitch of learning unknown to the age in which he lived; his knowledge in Scripture was admirable, his elocution manly, and his way of reasoning with all the subtilty that these plain truths he delivered would bear, his thoughts were bent always on great designs, and he had a resolution fitted to go through with them, and the assurance of his mind was not to be shaken or surprised, and that *παρησια* of his (for I know not what else to call it) before the diet of Worms, was such as might have become the days of the apostles. His life was holy, and, when he had leisure for retirement, severe; his virtues active chiefly, and homilitical, and not those lazy sullen ones of the cloister. He had no ambition but in the service of God; for other things, neither his enjoyment nor

wishes ever went higher than the bare conveniences of living. He was of a temper particularly averse to covetousness, or any base sin, and charitable even to a fault, without respect to his own occasions. If, among this crowd of virtues, a failing crept in, we must remember that an apostle himself had not been irreproachable; if, in the body of his doctrine, one flaw is to be seen, yet the greatest lights of the church, and in the purest times of it, were, we know, not exact in all their opinions. Upon the whole, we have certainly great reason to break out in the phrase of the prophet and say, "How beautiful, upon the mountains, are the feet of him that bringeth glad tidings." Gibbon, speaking of the effects produced by the exertions of Luther and his contemporaries, says, "The philosopher must own his obligations to these fearless enthusiasts. 1. By their hands the lofty fabric of superstition, from the abuse of indulgences to the intercession of the Virgin, has been levelled with

the ground. Myriads of both sexes of the monastic profession were restored to liberty and the labours of social life. 2. The chain of authority was broken which restrains the bigot from thinking as he pleases, and the slave from speaking as he thinks. The Popes, fathers, and councils were no longer the supreme and infallible judges of the world ; and each Christian was taught to acknowledge no law but the Scriptures, no interpreter but his own conscience."

ULRIC ZUINGLE.

ULRIC ZUINGLE, in Biography, the Swiss Reformer, was born January 1, 1484, at the village of Wildhausen, in the county of Tockenbourg; and having discovered in his youth a studious disposition, was intended by his father for the church. Accordingly he was sent for education first to Basil, and then to Berne, where attempts were made to fix him in the convent of the Dominicans; but in order to prevent their taking effect, his father removed him to the university of Vienna, which was then in high reputation. Returning from thence to Basil, he was chosen classical tutor in his eighteenth year, where he made very considerable advances in knowledge, and particularly in that of the profession to which he was destined, whilst he taught others; availing himself of the lectures of Thomas

Wyttembach, who, without renouncing the system of the schools, allowed his pupils to think freely for themselves. After a residence of about four years at Basil, Zuingle took the degree of M. A., and being chosen pastor of Glarus, was ordained by the bishop of Constance. Having commenced a course of liberal inquiry, he indefatigably pursued it, critically examining the New Testament as the directory of his faith, and consulting a variety of writers who had incurred the censure of the church of Rome. The consequence of this mode of study was a discovery of the deviation of the ecclesiastical system, generally adopted and established, from that of Christianity, both in doctrine and practice. But he was slow in publishing the theological sentiments which he had imbibed, and for ten years pursued a course of practical instruction at Glarus, which secured to him the respect and affection of his parishioners, so that the bigotted clergy could not succeed in their attempts to do him injury. From Glarus

he removed to the celebrated abbey of Einsidlin, where he accepted the office of preacher, and where he had an opportunity of associating with persons of learning, and of contributing to the education of candidates for the ministry. Whilst he was at Glarus he exposed several superstitions of the church of Rome ; and at Einsidlin he gained additional reputation by preaching against vows, pilgrimages, and offerings. Here he employed his influence so effectually, that he ordered the inscription over the abbey-gate, " Here plenary remission of sins is obtained," to be effaced, and the relics to be buried ; and, among other rules which he established in a convent of females under his direction, he introduced one for obliging the nuns to read lessons in the New Testament, instead of reciting their hours. He was also intrepid and zealous in propagating rational sentiments of religion, and with this view he availed himself of a public occasion, when a crowd was assembled, to deliver a sermon designed to

shew that no superior sanctity resided in any place so as to confer peculiar merit on vows addressed from it, but that their acceptance depended upon the purity of the heart and life of the worshipper. Declarations of this kind, whilst they gained the approbation of some of his auditors, excited the indignation of others, and alarmed the monks of this and neighbouring convents. Although he was regarded with jealousy and terror by those whose interest led them to oppose reformation, he was so much respected, that his ecclesiastical superiors manifested no displeasure against him ; and by his correspondence with Erasmus, Glareanus, Hedio, Rhenanus, and other learned persons, he established a reputation which enabled him to encourage liberal studies. In 1518, he was invited to occupy the vacant post of preacher in the cathedral of Zurich, and before he was installed he announced his proposed plan of preaching, which differed from that which had been before practised, and which gave him an

opportunity of explaining the books of the New Testament in an uninterrupted series, without regard to texts that were marked for each Sunday and Saint's-day in the year. This plan was approved by the majority of the chapter, and drew together a crowded auditory, who expressed in high terms their admiration of the preacher. A circumstance occurred which afforded him a complete victory over an emissary of Pope Leo X., who was employed in the sale of indulgences, insomuch that he was obliged to quit the city and retire into Italy.

Some writers, especially among the Catholics, have referred the origin of the reformation, and of the opposition of both Zuingle and Luther to the papal authority, to the disputes about indulgences; but, although this quarrel might have contributed to the promotion of it, the people were previously prepared for the event by the preaching and conduct of Zuingle, and by the judgment and prudence with which he had planned and pursued his measure for

this purpose. Luther proceeded very slowly to that exemption from the prejudices of education, which Zuingle, by the force of an adventurous genius, and an uncommon degree of knowledge, and penetration, easily got rid of. And we learn from the most authentic records of history, that he had explained the Scriptures to the people, and called in question the authority and supremacy of the Pope, before the name of Luther was known in Switzerland. In process of time, after Luther had taken up arms against Rome, Zuingle, being then minister of the chief church in Zurich, concurred with him ; preaching openly against indulgences, then against the intercession of the saints, then against the mass, the hierarchy, the vows of celibacy of the clergy, abstinence from flesh, and also many things which Luther was disposed to treat with toleration and indulgence ; such as images, altars, wax-tapers, the form of exorcism, and private confession, &c. Zuingle at an early period of his ministry, had declar-

ed his decided disapprobation of all wars, excepting those that were undertaken for the defence of the country ; and such was the influence of his opinion, that the canton of Zurich refused to concur with the other cantons, in a subsidiary treaty with the French king. The result of his arguments and remonstrances to this effect was a law passed by the assembly of the canton in 1522, abolishing all alliances and subsidies for the term of twenty-five years. He laboured at the same time to enforce a regard to the rules of the gospel in preference to the respect that was generally manifested to those of ecclesiastical discipline. Accordingly he defended those persons who had been denounced to the magistrate for infringing on the "fast of Lent" without a dispensation ; and published on this occasion his treatise "On the Observation of Lent," which contained some free opinions on the obligation of fasting and keeping particular days. When the bishop of Constance remonstrated against his proceeding,

and endeavoured by his charge and letters to excite apprehensions among the people, and in the council and chapter of Zurich, that he would spread through Switzerland such a flame as Luther had kindled in Germany, Zuingle obtained permission to reply; and composed a tract to prove that the gospel alone is authority from which there is no appeal, and that the decisions of the church are binding only inasmuch as they are founded on Scriptures. When the bishop of Constance had prevailed with the deputies of the Helvetic diet to order the arrest of a pastor accused of preaching the "new doctrine," Zuingle, who had now adopted and openly avowed the principles of the reformation, addressed to the heads of the cantons, in his own name and that of his friend, a summary of his doctrine, annexing an intreaty that they would allow liberty for the preaching of the gospel. In a conference before the deputies of the bishop of Constance, in the presence of the great coun-

cil of Zurich, held in 1523, Zuingle gave an account of his doctrine; and the colloquy terminated in the following declaration of the council: "That Zuingle, having been neither convicted of heresy, nor refuted, should continue to preach the gospel as he had already done; that the pastors of Zurich and its territory should rest their discourses on the words of Scripture alone; and that both parties should abstain from all personal reflections." Zuingle, having been thus supported by the magistrates, and having obtained a public sanction of the principles of the reformation in this canton, has been charged, both by Catholics and Protestants, with allowing to the secular power an undue degree of authority in ecclesiastical matters; however it has been urged in his defence, that he did not intend to transfer to government the absolute power over consciences claimed by the Popes; but that, for the preservation of order and tranquility, he thought that the depositories of lawful authority

ought to have a share in the direction of ecclesiastical affairs. Zuingle, though thus supported, proceeded with caution in promoting alterations in the ceremonies and modes of public worship, and was principally anxious to lay a proper foundation of change by enlightening the understanding and convincing the judgment of the people. When some zealous reformists instigated a mob to pull down a crucifix that had been erected at the gate of the city, and the culprits were brought before the council to be tried and punished, Zuingle interposed; and whilst he vindicated the offenders from the charge of sacrilege, he gave it as his opinion, that they deserved some punishment for having pulled down the crucifix without the authority of the magistracy. This dispute led to a general colloquy, which was held in October 1523; and the result was, that all the culprits except Hottinger their ring-leader, and the person who had actually committed the offence, were set at liberty; but Hottinger was banished

from the canton for two years; and he was afterwards put to death for heresy, in consequence of a sentence pronounced by the deputies of seven cantons at Lucerne, notwithstanding the intercession of Zurich. The question of the celibacy of the clergy was agitated in these colloquies, and though no decisive opinion was given by the council, several clergymen married, and among them was Zuingle himself, who had expressed his sentiments against the question, at the age of forty. In 1524, the council of Zurich proceeded to the reformation of public worship according to the plan proposed by Zuingle. They began with causing all pictures and statues to be removed by those whose ancestors had consecrated them; and of these several were destroyed. These measures occasioned alarm and complaint in the other cantons; and acts of hostility were meditated. Without entering into a detail of the various circumstances that occurred on one side and on the other, we shall content ourselves with observing,

that fanaticism and bigotry were engaged in opposition to each other, and produced in Switzerland effects similar to those that have attended innovation and reformation in other countries. At Zurich, the total subversion of the Romish worship was accomplished, by prohibiting processions and other ceremonies, and by the abolition of the sacrifice of the mass. The latter event took place by the activity of Zuingle in 1525 ; and on Easter Sunday the Lord's Supper was celebrated according to his idea of this rite, which was that of a merely commemorative and symbolical service. Our reformer displayed in another instance a disinterested spirit, which reflects great honor on his memory. Although he was one of the canons who composed the chapter of the cathedral, and this body was independent of the council, and possessed its own jurisdiction and property, he prevailed with the majority of his colleagues to consecrate the large revenues of the chapter to establishments for public

instruction, and to transfer its temporal power to the government. In the conduct of this event he manifested no less wisdom and moderation than disinterestedness; for the chapter charged itself with the payment of as many pastors as were necessary for the public worship of the city, to which service those canons who were capable of service were devoted. Those who were old and infirm were allowed to preserve their benefices for life; and their revenues, as they became vacant, were to be employed in founding professorships for lectures, to which admission was to be gratuitous. These liberal conditions were religiously observed, and the regulations thus framed are still continued at Zurich. The orders of mendicants, and other religious houses, were abolished; and their revenues were appropriated to the support of hospitals, and other charitable institutions, as the old members dropped off. Zuingle was afterwards commissioned to organize a system of public instruction, in which he displayed a cultivated and liberal mind.

The reputation which Zuingle had acquired, and the success which had crowned his plans and labours in the cause of reformation, were not sufficient to secure him against the prejudices of fanatics, and the hostile attacks of malignity. Attempts were made to associate him with Munzer, one of the leaders of the Anabaptists ; but he happily avoided the snare that was laid for him, and instead of taking part in those violences which called forth the interposition of the civil power, and which terminated in the death of one of the persons concerned, he did all that lay in his power to prevent them ; and though he could not preserve the life of one disturber of the public peace, he composed the tumult occasioned by the intemperate zeal of others. Notwithstanding the singular prudence and moderation which influenced his whole conduct, his reputation excited envy, and a conspiracy was formed against his life. Under the protection of the magistracy of Zurich he was safe ; but his enemies insidiously proposed a conference at Baden, in Argovia.

His friends, however, were not unapprised of his danger, and well knowing that the cantons were actuated by inveterate hostility against his person as well as his doctrines, they would not consent to his leaving Zurich. At the conference, which he prudently declined to attend, enmity was avowed both against him and his adherents. Some of the cantons, however, withheld their concurrence; and this was particularly the case with respect to the canton of Berne. In this canton the reformation had made considerable progress, so that in 1527 several of its municipalities addressed the senate for the abolition of the mass, and the introduction of the form of worship established at Zurich. The reformers at Berne summoned a convocation, to which the clergy of the other Helvetic states, and the neighbouring bishops, were invited. Zuingle's attendance was also requested; and he thought it his duty to appear in that assembly, professedly convened for the advancement of the reformation. Haller was

the leader of the party in this canton, and in connection with Zuingle and other coadjutors the cause to which they were devoted obtained a complete triumph ; so that the grand council of that canton fully adopted the measures of that of Zurich. Upon this, five of the cantons which were attached to the old religion, entered into a solemn engagement not to suffer the doctrines of Zuingle and Luther to be preached among them. At length the hostilities that subsisted between the Catholic and reformed cantons were amicably terminated by the treaty of Cappel, in 1529. The animosity, however, between these cantons was not extinguished. It broke out again with greater violence than ever ; and the senate of Zurich has been charged with the first aggression, by arbitrary acts in favour of the reformed preachers in the common bailiages. Its project of secularizing the abbey of St. Gall, which belonged to the Helvetic confederacy, was a greater grievance ; and on the other hand, the five asso-

ciated Catholic cantons refused to concur with the others in expelling the Spaniards from the Valteline, and persecuted the reformed in their jurisdictions with the greatest severity. The sufferers sought the protection of Zurich, and the eloquence of Zuingle was employed in recommending their case to the senate. The breach widened, and a majority of the Protestants agreed in stopping the transit of provisions to the five cantons, which depended upon foreign supplies. Zuingle in vain remonstrated against this cruel act; and the five cantons took up arms, and having published a manifesto, marched into the field in October 1531. A detachment was ordered to prevent the junction of the forces of Berne with those of Zurich, and the main body advanced towards Cappel. This intelligence alarmed the people of Zurich; and they could only spare seven hundred men for the relief of their countrymen at Cappel. Zuingle was appointed to accompany them. A battle ensued; and though the

Zurichers, animated by his exhortations, defended themselves valiantly, they at length were compelled to yield to superiority of numbers, and were entirely routed. Some died at their posts ; others fled : and Zuingle received a mortal wound at the commencement of the action, and fell senseless to the ground. As soon as he had recovered sufficiently to raise himself up, he crossed his arms on his breast, and lifted his languid eyes to heaven. In this condition he was found by some Catholic soldiers, who, without knowing him, offered to bring a confessor ; but as he made a sign of refusal, the soldiers exhorted him to recommend his soul to the holy virgin. On a second refusal, one of them furiously exclaimed, “ Die then, obstinate heretic ! ” and pierced him through with a sword. His body was found on the next day, and the celebrity of his name drew together a great crowd of spectators. One of these, who had been his colleague at Zurich, after intently gazing on his face, thus ex-

pressed his feelings : “ Whatever may have been thy faith, I am sure thou wert always sincere, and that thou lovedst thy country. May God take thy soul to his mercy !” Among the savage herd some voices exclaimed, “ Let us burn his accursed remains !” The proposal was applauded ; a military tribunal ordered the execution, and the ashes of Zuingle, were scattered to the wind. Thus, at the age of 47, he terminated a glorious career by an event deeply lamented by all the friends of the reformation, and occasioning triumph to the partisans of the Romish church.

“ In the character of Zuingle,” says one of his biographers, “ there appears to have been united all that makes a man amiable in private society, with the firmness, ardour, and intrepidity that are indispensable in executing the great task of reformation. By nature mild, his earnestness was the result of his sense of the importance of the cause he engaged in to the best interests of mankind, not of a dog-

matic or dictatorial spirit. His views were large and generous, and his opinions rose above the narrow scale of sect or party. It was no small proof of liberality in that age that he ventured to assert his belief of the final happiness of virtuous heathens, and of all good men who act up to the laws engraven on their consciences. His temper was cheerful and social, somewhat hasty, but incapable of harbouring resentment, or indulging envy and jealousy. As a reformer he was original; for he had proceeded far in emancipating himself from the superstitions of Rome by the strength of his own judgment, and had begun to communicate the light to others, whilst Luther still retained almost the whole of the Romish system, and long before Calvin was known in the world. He was more learned and more moderate than the first of these divines, and more humane and kind-hearted than the last. He wrote many works of utility in their day; and the reform, of which he was the author, still

subsists unchanged among a people distinguished by their morals and mental cultivation."

JOHN CALVIN.

JOHN CALVIN, in Biography, an eminent reformer, entitled on account of his talents and character, as well as his peculiar activity and zeal, to the second rank of celebrity among those who contributed to rescue the Christian church from the errors and superstitions of Popery, was born of an obscure family, named Cauvin, at Noyon, in Picardy, in 1509. As he was originally designed for the church, he obtained at an early age a benefice in the cathedral church of his native place, and also the cure of Pont-l' Eveque. Having pursued the study of polite literature for some time at Paris, where he distinguished himself by his proficiency, and where he also acquired a predilection in favour of the new opinions in religion, from a study of the Scriptures, recommended to him by

Robert Olivetan, he determined to change his professional destination; and applied to the study of the civil law, first at Orleans, and afterwards at Bourges. The Scriptures were likewise the objects of his particular attention; the more he acquainted himself with these purest sources of theological knowledge, the more was he confirmed in the opinions he had adopted; and his attachment to them was strengthened by intercourse with Melchior Wolmar, a German professor of the Greek language at Bourges. Upon his father's death he was obliged to return to Noyon, where he resigned his ecclesiastical benefices; and soon after removing to Paris, he published, in 1532, an eloquent Latin commentary on Seneca's treatise "*De Clementia*," on clemency. In the title of this book he latinized his name Cauvin into Calvinus, whence he afterwards assumed his common appellation of Calvin. His attachment to the reformation being now generally known, he was under a

necessity of suddenly quitting Paris, and of retiring to Angouleme, where he obtained a subsistence by teaching Greek. Here he was admitted into the house of Lewis du Tillet, canon of the church, whom he had proselyted to the reformed religion; and during his residence in this place he wrote the greatest part of his "Institute." Notwithstanding some degree of protection which was afforded him by the queen of Navarre, he thought it most prudent to leave France, and in 1534 he withdrew to Basil, and in the following year published his celebrated work, entitled "Institutes of the Christian Religion." The design of this work was to exhibit a just view of the principles of the reformed, and to prevent their being confounded with the Anabaptists and other enthusiasts. It was addressed to Francis I, by a dedicatory epistle, which is much applauded as the finest specimen of modern latinity, and which was intended to soften the unrelenting fury of that prince against the Protes-

tants. This work has been always much admired by persons of similar sentiments, for the elegance of its style, the perspicuity of its method, and the force of its reasoning. It passed through several editions, which were successively enlarged and improved; it was translated by Calvin into French; and versions of it were made in all the principal modern languages. To some editions is prefixed the device of a flaming sword, with the motto, “Non veni mittere pacem sed gladium;” *i. e.* “I came not to send peace but a sword.” After the publication of this work, Calvin went to Italy for the purpose of visiting the duchess of Ferrara, who was a convert to the reformed religion, and who received him with great kindness. On his return to France, he proposed to pursue his journey to Strasburgh or Basil; but being obliged, on account of the war that then prevailed, to pass through the territories of the duchy of Savoy, he took Geneva in his way; and being urged by the pres-

sing solicitation of Farel, Viret, and other zealous reformers, to settle in that city, he accepted the offices of preacher and professor of divinity, which were conferred upon him with the consent of the people, by the consistory and magistrates. This settlement took place in 1536. In the following year he began to display his arbitrary spirit, by obliging all the people to swear solemnly to a body of doctrines, which also contained a renunciation of Popery; and by refusing to celebrate the Lord's supper, till certain irregularities that subsisted in the church at Geneva were rectified. He also declared, that he could not submit to the regulations which had been lately made by the Synod of the canton of Berne, and which required the use of unleavened bread in the eucharist, the baptismal fonts which had been removed out of the churches, and the feasts, which had been abolished, to be restored at Geneva. This occasioned a conflict, which terminated in an order of the assem-

bly of the people, summoned by the syndics, that Calvin, Farel, and another minister, should leave the city within two days. Calvin retired to Strasburgh, where he was allowed to found a church according to his own model. There he married a wife; and published his "Commentary upon the Epistle to the Romans." During his absence, his friends at Geneva were very anxious for his return; and they at length prevailed, so that he arrived thither in September, 1541. After his re-settlement he began with establishing a form of ecclesiastical discipline, and a consistorial jurisdiction, invested with full powers to inflict all kinds of censures and canonical punishments, as far as excommunication. This establishment was much disapproved by several persons, who expressed their apprehensions, that papal tyranny would soon be revived. Calvin, however, was inflexible; and on all occasions asserted the rights of the consistory, of which he was perpetual president, as he also was of the

assembly of the clergy. But fully apprised of the exorbitant power which accrued from this office, he advised, on his death-bed, that no person should again be invested with such authority ; and after his time the office of president ceased to be perpetual.

Such was the extent of Calvin's ambition and views, that he formed a project of making the republic of Geneva the mother and seminary of all the reformed churches, as Wittenburg was of the Lutheran. From hence ministers were to be deputed to diffuse and support the Protestant cause throughout the world. Here he designed to originate an uniform model of doctrine and discipline ; and Geneva was to be, as it were, the "Rome" of Protestantism. His plan was pursued with vigour and perseverance. An academy was instituted in this city, to which his own talents and learning, and those of his colleague Beza, and of other eminent persons, attached a degree of reputation that attract-

ed students from all countries where the reformation had taken root. The success of Calvin in his project was so great, that the Presbyterian model of church government gradually held a kind of divided empire with the Lutheran and Protestant episcopalian. When Calvin had formed and established his system of doctrine and church government, he was too tenacious of his own opinion, and too arbitrary in the exercise of his authority, to allow any deviation or opposition among those to whom his influence extended. Of this unamiable peculiarity of his character, and that which entails the greatest disgrace on his memory, was his treatment of Servetus. Whilst he was passing through Geneva, in order to seek an asylum in Italy from the persecution of Roman Catholics, he was apprehended at the instigation of Calvin, tried on a charge of blasphemy, condemned, and committed to the flames. The mere statement of this fact is sufficient to expose it; and no apology can be devised

to extenuate it, but such as arises from the intolerant spirit which generally prevailed, and which, for many ages, it was thought not only lawful but laudable to exercise against persons who were deemed to hold unscriptural and heretical opinions, conceived to be inconsistent with the unity of the church, and the safety of the civil state.

The course of Calvin's life comprehended a great variety of pastoral cares and literary labours; and it was terminated by sickness and labour at comparatively an early period, in May, 1564, as he was nearly completing his 55th year. The character of this learned and active reformer has been grossly calumniated by bigots of various descriptions; and more especially by those of the church of Rome. But it is justly observed by a liberal and candid biographer, that, whilst his morals, in the ordinary sense of the term, appear to have been irreproachable, his chief faults consisted in a resemblance to those un-

charitable persons who have censured and traduced him. His extraordinary talents have been acknowledged by the most eminent persons of his age; and they were such as would have rendered him a distinguished scholar, if his attention had not been wholly, or at least principally, devoted to theological studies and ecclesiastical occupations. His writings are numerous. Besides his "Institute," he published learned commentaries upon most of the books of the New Testament, and upon the prophets in the Old. He refrained from commenting on the book of Revelation, much to his praise, according to the judgment of Scaliger and Bodin, because he thought it impenetrably obscure, and of dubious authority. Many zealous believers were offended by his applying to the temporal circumstances of the Jews several ancient prophecies that have been thought to refer to the Messiah, and to furnish arguments in confirmation of the Christian cause. In this respect, however, he thought

for himself, and escaped the odium of servile attachment to generally received opinions. To his other more elaborate works he added many controversial pieces ; and all his treatises were collected in 1560, in 9 vols. folio. His opinions, which are now better known than his writings, have been the subjects of innumerable controversies.

THE REFORMATION.

THE reformation of religion, called, by way of eminence, *the Reformation*, was begun by the elector of Saxony, at the solicitation of Luther, about the beginning of the sixteenth century. There were many circumstances which concurred at this time to bring about that happy reformation in religion, which rescued one part of Europe from the papal yoke, mitigated its rigour in the other, and produced a revolution in the sentiments of mankind, the greatest as well as the most beneficial that has happened since the publication of Christianity. We shall here observe, that the same corruptions in the church of Rome which Luther condemned, had been attacked long before his appearance, and the same opinions which he propagated had been published in different places, and

supported by the same arguments. Waldus in the 12th century, Wickliffe in the 14th, and Huss in the 15th, had inveighed against the errors of Popery with great boldness, and confuted them with more ingenuity and learning than could have been expected in those illiterate ages in which they flourished. But all these premature attempts towards a reformation proved abortive. Many powerful causes contributed to facilitate Luther's progress, which either did not exist, or did not operate with full force in their days : the principal of these we shall here enumerate. The long and scandalous schism which divided the church, during the latter part of the 14th, and the beginning of the 15th centuries, had a great effect in diminishing the veneration with which the world had been accustomed to view the papal dignity. The proceedings of the councils of Constance and Basil spread this disrespect for the Romish see still wider, and by their bold exertion of authority in deposing and

electing Popes, taught the world that there was in the church a jurisdiction superior even to the papal power, which they had long believed to be supreme. The wound given on that occasion to the papal authority was scarcely healed, when the pontificates of Alexander VI. and Julius II. both able princes, but detestable ecclesiastics, raised new scandal in Christendom. Besides, many of the dignified clergy, secular as well as regular, neglected the duties of their office, and indulged themselves, without reserve, in all the vices to which great wealth and idleness naturally give birth; and gross ignorance and low debauchery rendered the inferior clergy as contemptible as the others were odious. So that we find, long before the 16th century, that many authors of reputation give such description of the dissolute morals of the clergy, as seems almost incredible in the present age. The scandal of those crimes, which very generally prevailed, was greatly increased by the facility with which such

as committed them obtained pardon. The exorbitant wealth of the church, the vast personal immunities of ecclesiastics, and their encroachments on the jurisdiction of the laity, and their various devices to secure their usurpations, created much dissatisfaction among the people, and disposed them to pay particular attention to the invectives of Luther. Besides these causes of his rapid progress, we may also reckon the invention of the art of printing, about half a century before his time, the revival of learning at the same period, and the bold spirit of inquiry which it excited in Europe; so that many were prepared to embrace his doctrines, who did not really wish success to his undertaking. In the writings of Reuchlin Hutten and the other revivers of learning in Germany, the corruptions of the church of Rome are censured with an acrimony of style little inferior to that of Luther himself. The railery and oblique censures of Erasmus in particular, upon the errors of the church,

as well as upon the ignorance and vices of the clergy, prepared the way for Luther's invectives and more direct attacks. To all which we may add, that the theological doctrines of Popery were so repugnant to the spirit of Christianity, and so destitute of any foundation in reason, in the word of God, or in the practice of the church, that this circumstance combined in favouring the progress of Luther's opinions, and in weakening the resistance of his adversaries.

The rise of the reformation in Switzerland was at least as early as in Germany; for Ulric Zuingle had, in the year 1516, begun to explain the Scriptures to the people, and to censure, though with great prudence and moderation, the errors of a corrupt church. He had very noble and extensive ideas of a general reformation, at the time when Luther retained almost the whole system of Popery, indulgences excepted; and he had actually called in question the authority and supremacy of

the Pope, before the name of Luther was known in that country. In the year 1524, Nuremburg, Frankfort, Hamburg, and several other cities in Germany, of the first rank, openly embraced the reformed religion, and by the authority of their magistrates abolished the mass, and the other superstitious rites of Popery. The elector of Brandenburg, Saxony, the marquis of the landgrave of Hesse, the dukes of Brunswick and Lunenburg, and prince of Anhalt, became avowed patrons of Luther's opinions, and countenanced the preaching of them among their subjects. The reformers derived great advantage from the transactions of the diet at Nuremburg, which presented to the Pope a catalogue of a hundred grievances, which the empire imputed to the iniquitous dominion of the papal see. The progress of the reformation in Germany was likewise promoted by the proceedings of the diet held at Spire, in the years 1526 and 1529.

During these transactions in Germany, the dawn of truth arose upon other nations. The light of the reformation spread itself far and wide ; and almost all the European states welcomed its salutary beams, and exulted in the prospect of an approaching deliverance from the yoke of superstition and spiritual despotism. Some of the most considerable provinces of Europe had already broke their chains, and openly withdrawn themselves from the discipline of Rome and the jurisdiction of its pontiff. The reformed religion was propagated in Sweden, soon after Luther's rupture with Rome, by Olaus Petri, one of his disciples, who was countenanced and encouraged by the valiant and public-spirited prince Gustavus Vasa Ericson, to whose firmness and magnanimity it was owing, that from the year 1527 the papal empire in Sweden was entirely overturned, and Gustavus declared head of the church. The light of the reformation was also received in Denmark so early as the year 1521, in conse-

quence of the ardent desire discovered by Christian or Christiern II. for purposes of mere ambition, of having his disciples instructed in the doctrines of Luther. His successor Frederic, duke of Holstein and Silesia, contributed greatly to the progress of the reformation, by his successful attempts in favour of religious liberty, at the assembly of states that was held at Odensee, in the year 1527, when he procured the publication of the famous edict which declared every subject of Denmark free, either to adhere to the tenets of the church of Rome, or to embrace the doctrine of Luther ; that no person should be molested on account of his religion ; that a royal protection should be granted to the Lutherans ; and that ecclesiastics of every order should be allowed to marry. But the honour of accomplishing this glorious work was reserved for Christiern III. a prince equally distinguished by his piety and prudence. The religious doctrine, discipline, and worship of this kingdom, were settled

according to a plan laid down by Bugenhagenius. And the assembly of the states at Odensee, in 1539, gave a solemn sanction to all these transactions, and thus the work of reformation was brought to perfection in Denmark.

In the same year the reformation was established in every part of Saxony. Upon the death of George, duke of Saxony, who was an inveterate enemy to the reformation, the succession fell to his brother Henry, whose attachment to the Protestant religion surpassed, if possible, that of his predecessor to Popery. Henry invited some Protestant divines, and among them Luther himself, to Leipsic ; and by their advice and assistance, he learned, in a few weeks, the whole system of ancient rites, establishing the full exercise of the Protestant religion, with the universal applause of his subjects, who had long wished for this change, which the obstinacy of their former duke had alone prevented. This revolution delivered the Protestants from

the danger to which they were exposed by having an inveterate enemy settled in the middle of their territories; and their dominions now extended in a great and almost unbroken line from the shore of the Baltic to the banks of the Rhine.

In France, the auspicious patronage of Margaret, queen of Navarre, sister to Francis I. encouraged several pious and learned men, whose religious sentiments were the same with her own, to propagate the principles of the reformation, and even to erect several Protestant churches in that kingdom. It appears, that, so early as the year 1523, there were many, and even persons of rank, and some of the episcopal order, who had conceived the utmost aversion both against the doctrine and tyranny of Rome. But the wavering and inconsistent conduct of Francis I. rendered the situation of the Protestants in this country, always precarious, often distressed. Upon the whole, we may observe, that, before the diet of Augsburg, the doctrine of Luth-

er had made considerable, though perhaps a secret, progress in Spain, Hungary, Bohemia, Britian, Poland, and the Netherlands, and had, in all these countries, many friends, of whom several repaired to Wittemburg to improve their knowledge, and enlarge their views under such an eminent master. At this diet, held in 1530, the Augsburg or Augustine confession was presented to the emperor Charles V. and after many debates between the friends of liberty and the votaries of Rome, the latter prevailed ; and the diet in compliance with the opinion and remonstrances of Campeggio, the papal nuncio, issued a decree, condemning most of the peculiar tenets held by the Protestants ; forbidding any person to protect or tolerate those who taught them ; enjoining a strict observance of the established rites ; and prohibiting any farther innoyation, under severe penalties. Those who refused to obey this decree were declared incapable of acting as judges, or of appearing as parties in the

imperial chamber, the supreme court of judicature in the empire. The Protestants, alarmed at the severity of the decree, assembled at Smalcald, and concluded a league of mutual defence against all aggressors, by which they formed the Protestant states of the empire into one regular body : and they resolved to apply to the kings of England, France, and Denmark, to implore them to assist and patronize this new confederacy. After various negociations between the emperor and the Protestant princes, terms of pacification were agreed upon at Nuremburg, and ratified solemnly in the diet of Ratisbon, in the year 1532. In this treaty it was stipulated, that universal peace be established in Germany, until the meeting of a general council, the convocation of which, within six months, the emperor shall endeavour to procure ; that no person be molested on account of religion ; that a stop be put to all processes begun by the imperial chamber against Protestants ; and the sentences already

passed to their detriment be declared void. On their part, the Protestants engaged to assist the emperor with all their forces in resisting the invasion of the Turks. Thus the Protestants, by their firmness, unanimity, and dexterity in availing themselves of the emperor's situation, obtained terms which amounted almost to a toleration of their religion. But neither the emperor nor the Pope were disposed to abide by the unbiased sense of a general council, assembled, as the Protestants wished, within the limit of the empire, but determined to decide their religious debates by the force of arms. After many evasions and delays, it was proposed, in the year 1545, to assemble a council at Trent, which was vigorously opposed by the Protestants. The emperor and the Pope had mutually agreed to destroy all who should dare to oppose this council. The meeting of that assembly was to serve as a signal for their taking arms; and accordingly its deliberations were scarcely begun, in the year

1546, when the Protestants perceived undoubted marks of a formidable union to overwhelm and crush them by one blow. The fathers, assembled in the council of Trent, promulgated their decrees ; and the Protestant princes in the diet of Ratisbon protested against their authority ; and were, in consequence of this, proscribed by the emperor, who raised an army to reduce them to obedience. Thus commenced the war of Smalcald, which was prosecuted with various success on both sides, till, in the year 1552, Charles was surprised at Inspruck by Maurice of Saxony, and was constrained to conclude at Passau the famous treaty of *pacification*, with the Protestants, which is considered by those of Germany as the basis of their religious liberty ; and to promise in six months to assemble a diet, in which all the tumults and dissensions, that had been occasioned by a variety of sentiments in religious matters, should be entirely removed. This diet, though not assembled at the

stipulated time, met, however, at Augsburg, in the year 1555, and terminated those deplorable scenes of bloodshed, desolation, and discord, that had so long afflicted both church and state by that *religious peace*, as it is commonly called, which secured to the Protestants the free exercise of their religion, and established this inestimable liberty upon the firmest foundations. For, after various debates, the following memorable acts were passed; that the Protestants who followed the confession of Augsburg, should for the future be considered as entirely exempted from the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, and from the authority and superintendence of the bishops; that they were left at perfect liberty to enact laws for themselves, relating to their religious sentiments, discipline, and worship; that all the inhabitants of the German empire should be allowed to judge for themselves in religious matters, and to join themselves to that church whose doctrine and worship they thought

the purest and most consonant to the spirit of Christianity ; and that all those, who should injure or persecute any person under religious pretexts, and on account of their opinions, should be declared, and proceeded against, as public enemies of the empire, invaders of its liberty, and disturbers of its peace.

In the year 1533, Henry VIII., king of England, who, in the beginning of these troubles, had opposed the doctrine and views of Luther with the utmost vehemence, partly because he had spoken with contempt of Thomas Aquinas, the king's favourite author, having sued for a divorce from Catharine of Arragon, his brother's widow, at the court of Rome, for almost six years, during which period Clement VII. negotiated, promised, retracted, and concluded nothing, determined to apply to another tribunal for that decree which he had unsuccessfully solicited at Rome. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, by a sentence founded on the authority of

universities, doctors, and rabbies, who had been consulted with respect to the point, annulled the king's marriage with Catharine; and Anne Boleyn, whose charms had captivated the king, was acknowledged as queen of England. Clement, apprehensive lest England would revolt from the holy see, determined to give Henry such satisfaction as might still retain him within the bosom of the church. But the violence of the cardinals precipitated him, in 1534, to issue a bull rescinding Cranmer's sentence, confirming Henry's marriage with Catharine, and declaring him excommunicated, if, within a time specified, he did not abandon the wife he had taken, and return to her whom he had deserted. Enraged at this unexpected decree, Henry kept no longer any measures with the court of Rome; his subjects seconded his resentment; an act of parliament was passed, abolishing the papal power and jurisdiction in England; by another the king was declared supreme head of the church, and

all the authority of which the Popes were deprived was vested in him : the *monasteries*, were suppressed, and their revenues applied to other purposes.

The people had been gradually prepared for this great innovation. Each succeeding session of parliament had made some retrenchment from the power and profits of the Roman pontiff. Care had been taken, during some years, to teach the nation that a general council was much superior to a Pope. But now a bishop preached every Sunday at Paul's Cross, in order to inculcate the doctrine, that the Pope was entitled to no authority at all beyond his own diocese.

The laws passed during this session (1534) sufficiently evince, that the king was determined not to surrender any part of his assumed prerogative. All payments made to the apostolic chamber ; all provisions, bulls, dispensations, were abolished : monasteries were to be subjected to the regulation and government of the king

alone : the law for punishing heretics was moderated : the ordinary was prohibited from imprisoning or trying any person upon suspicion alone, without presentment by ten lawful witnesses : and it was declared that to speak against the Pope's authority was no heresy ; bishops were to be appointed by a *conge d'elire* from the crown, or, in case of the dean and chapter's refusal, by letters patent ; and no recourse was to be had to Rome for palls, bulls, or provisions. Campeggio and Ghinucci, two Italians, were deprived of the bishoprics of Salisbury and Worcester, which they had hitherto enjoyed : the law which had been formerly made against paying annats, or first fruits, but which had been left in the king's power to suspend or enforce, was finally established : and a submission which was exacted two years before from the clergy, and which had been obtained with great difficulty, received this session the sanction of parliament. In this submission, the clergy acknowledged that con-

vocations ought to be assembled by the king's authority only: they promised to enact no new canons without his consent: and they agreed that he should appoint 32 commissioners, in order to examine the old canons, and abrogate such as should be found prejudicial to his royal prerogative. An appeal was also allowed from the bishop's court to the king in chancery. But the most important act passed this session, was that which regulated the succession to the crown: the marriage of the king with Catharine was declared unlawful, void, and of no effect: the primate's sentence annulling it was ratified; and the marriage with queen Anne was established and confirmed. The crown was appointed to descend to the issue of this marriage, and failing there, to the king's heirs for ever. An oath was likewise enjoined to be taken in favour of this order of succession, under the penalty of imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and forfeiture of goods and chattels: and all slander

against the king, queen, or their issue, was subjected to the penalty of misprison of treason. These several acts, so contemptuous towards the Pope, and so destructive of his authority, were passed at the very time that Clement pronounced his hasty sentence against the king. The king found his ecclesiastical subjects as compliant as the laity. The convocation ordered that the act against appeals to Rome, together with the king's appeal from the Pope to a general council, should be affixed to all the doors of all the churches in the kingdom; and they voted that the bishop of Rome had, by the laws of God, no more jurisdiction in England than any other foreign bishop: and that the authority which he and his predecessors had there exercised, was only by usurpation, and by the sufferance of English princes. The bishops went so far in their complaisance, that they took out new commissions from the crown, in which all their spiritual and episcopal authority was expressly affirmed to

be derived ultimately from the civil magistrate, and to be entirely dependant on his good pleasure.

Henry, however, with the caprice peculiar to his character, continued to defend the doctrines of the Romish church as fiercely as he attacked their jurisdiction. He alternately persecuted the Protestants for rejecting the former, and the Catholics for acknowledging the latter.

Nothing more forwarded the first progress of the reformers, than the offer which they made, of submitting all religious doctrines to private judgment, and the summons given every one to examine the principles formerly imposed upon them. And what can be more just and reasonable? and yet the multitude, says Mr. Hume, were totally unqualified for this undertaking, though they were highly pleased with it. They fancied that they were exercising their judgment, while they opposed to the prejudices of ancient authority more powerful prejudices of another kind.

The novelty itself of the doctrines ; and the pleasure of an imaginary triumph in dispute ; the fervent zeal of the reformed preachers ; their patience, and even alacrity, in suffering persecution, death, and torments ; a disgust at the restraints of the old religion ; an indignation against the tyranny and interested spirit of the ecclesiastics :—these motives, says the same historian, whilst, as some may imagine, he is depreciating the principles of the reformation, were prevalent with the people ; and by such considerations were men so generally induced, during that age, to throw off the religion of their ancestors. In proportion, says the same author, as the practice of submitting religion to private judgment was acceptable to the people, it appeared, in some respects, dangerous to the rights of sovereigns, and seemed to destroy that implicit obedience on which the authority of the civil magistrate is chiefly founded. When some Englishmen, such were Tindal, Joye, Constantine, and oth-

ers, retired to Antwerp, through fear of the exertion of the king's authority, they employed themselves in writing English books against the corruptions of the church of Rome ; against images, relics, and pilgrims ; and they excited the curiosity of men with regard to that question, which is the most important in theology, the terms of acceptance with the Supreme Being. These books, having been secretly conveyed to England, began to make converts every where ; but it was a translation of the Scriptures by Tindal that was esteemed the most dangerous to the established faith. Against Wolsey, a favourite minister of Henry VIII., it was one article of impeachment, that, by his connivance, he had encouraged the growth of heresy, and that he had protected and acquitted some notorious offenders. Wolsey was succeeded in the office of chancellor by Sir Thomas More, who, irritated by polemics, became so superstitiously attached to the ancient faith, that few inquisitors

have been guilty of greater violence in their prosecution of heresy. Several persons were not only brought into the courts for heretical offences, such as teaching their children the Lord's prayer in English, for reading the New Testament in that language, or for speaking against pilgrimages; and others were charged with the capital offences of harbouring persecuted preachers, neglecting the fasts of the church, and declaiming against the vices of the clergy. Some were tried, condemned, and committed to the flames. Notwithstanding the inconsistent conduct of Henry, his subjects having been encouraged by his example, to break some of their fetters, were so impatient to shake off all that remained, that in the following reign, under his son Edward VI., with the general applause of the nation, a total separation was made from the church of Rome in articles of doctrine, as well as in matters of discipline and jurisdiction. In 1553, his death retarded the progress of the reformation; and his

sister Mary, who succeeded him, imposed anew the arbitrary laws and tyrannical yoke of Rome upon the people of England. But the execution of a great number of persons, who were burnt for the Protestant faith in five years of her persecuting and bloody reign, so alienated the people from Popery, that queen Elizabeth, her sister, found it no hard matter to deliver her subjects from the bondage of Rome, and to establish that form of religious doctrine and ecclesiastical government, which still subsists in England.

The seeds of the reformation were very early sown in Scotland, by several noblemen of that nation, who had resided in Germany during the religious disputes that divided the empire. The first and most eminent opposer of the Papal jurisdiction was John Knox, a disciple of Calvin, who set out from Geneva for Scotland in 1559, and in a little while prevailed with the greatest part of the Scotch nation entirely to abandon the superstitions of Rome, and

to aim at nothing less than the total extirpation of Popery. In the following year, viz. 1560, the parliament ratified a confession of faith, agreeable to the new doctrines, and passing a statute against the mass, not only abolished it in all the churches, but enacted, that whoever, any where, either officiated in it, or was present at it, should be chastised, for the first offence, with confiscation of goods, and corporal punishment, at the discretion of the magistrate ; for the second with banishment ; and for the third, with loss of life. A law was also voted for abolishing the Papal jurisdiction in Scotland ; the Presbyterian form of discipline was settled, leaving only at first some shadow of authority to certain ecclesiastics, whom they called superintendents. From that period to the present times the form of doctrine, worship, and discipline, that had been established at Geneva by the ministry of Calvin, has been maintained in Scotland with invincible obstinacy and zeal ; and every attempt

to introduce, into that kingdom, the rites and government of the church of England, has proved impotent and unsuccessful.

The cause of the reformation in Ireland underwent the same vicissitudes that had attended it in England. When Henry VIII., after the abolition of the Papal authority, was declared supreme head of the church of England, George Brown, a native of England, and a monk of the Augustin order, whom that monarch had created, in the year 1535, archbishop of Dublin, began to act with the utmost vigour, in consequence of this change in the hierarchy. He purged the churches of his diocese from superstition in all its forms, pulled down images, destroyed relics, abolished absurd and idolatrous rites, and, by the influence as well as authority he had in Ireland, caused the king's supremacy to be acknowledged in that nation. Henry showed soon after, that this supremacy was not a vain title; for he banished the monks out of that kingdom, confiscated their rev-

enues, and destroyed their convents. In the reign of Edward VI. farther progress was made in the reformation, but the accession of Mary retarded it, in consequence of which Brown and other Protestant bishops were deprived of their dignities in the church. When Elizabeth ascended the throne, the Irish were again obliged to submit to the form of worship and discipline established in England.

The reformation had not been long established in Britain, when the Belgic provinces, united by a respectable confederacy which still subsists, withdrew from their spiritual allegiance to the Roman pontiff. The means which Philip II. king of Spain used to obstruct the reformation, promoted it: the nobility formed themselves into an association, in the year 1566, and roused the people; who, under the heroic conduct of William of Nassau, prince of Orange, seconded by the succours of England and France, delivered this state from the Spanish yoke: in consequence of which the

reformed religion, as it was professed in Switzerland, was established in the United Provinces; and, at the same time, an universal toleration granted to those whose religious sentiments were of a different nature, whether they retained the faith of Rome, or embraced the reformation in another form, provided that they made no attempts against the authority of the government, or the tranquillity of the public.

Whilst Mr. Hume attributes the quick and surprising progress of the reformation in part to the late invention of printing, and revival of learning, he denies that reason had any considerable share in opening men's eyes with regard to the impostures of the Romish church; alleging that philosophy had made little progress, at least not till long after the period of the reformation, and that no instance occurs in which argument has ever been able to free the people from that enormous load of absurdity with which superstition has everywhere overwhelmed them: to which he

adds, that the rapid advance of the Lutheran doctrine, and the violence with which it was embraced, proved sufficiently that it owed not its success to reason and reflection. The art of printing, and the revival of learning, he says, forwarded its progress in another manner. By means of that art, the books of Luther and his sectaries, full of vehemence, declamation, and a rude eloquence, were propagated more quickly, and in greater numbers. The minds of men, somewhat awakened from a profound sleep of so many centuries, were prepared for every novelty, and scrupled less to tread in any unusual path which was opened to them. And as copies of the Scriptures, and other ancient monuments of the Christian faith, became more common, men perceived the innovations which were introduced after the first century; and though argument and reasoning could not give conviction, an historical fact, well supported, was able to make impression on their understandings. As

the ecclesiastics would not agree to possess their privileges, though ancient and prior to almost every political establishment in Europe, as matters of civil right, which time might render valid, but appealed still to a divine right, they thus tempted men to look to their primitive charter, which, with little difficulty, they could perceive to be defective in truth and authenticity. Besides, Luther and his followers, not satisfied with opposing the pretended divinity of the Romish church, and displaying the temporal inconveniences of that establishment, proceeded to treat the religion of their ancestors as abominable, detestable, and damnable ; foretold by sacred writ itself as the source of all wickedness and pollution. They denominated the Pope antichrist, called his communion the scarlet whore, and gave to Rome the appellation of Babylon ; expressions which, however applied, were to be found in Scripture, and which were better calculated to operate on the multitude than the most solid argu-

ments. Excited by contest and persecution on the one hand, by success and applause on the other, many of the reformers carried to the greatest extremities their opposition to the church of Rome ; and in contradiction to the multiplied superstitions with which that communion was loaded, they adopted an enthusiastic strain of devotion, which admitted of no observances, rites, or ceremonies, but placed all merit in a mysterious species of faith, in inward vision, rapture, and ecstasy. The new sectaries, seized with this spirit, were indefatigable in the propagation of their doctrine, and set at defiance all the anathemas and punishments with which the Roman pontiff endeavoured to overwhelm them.

Thus, in terms which appear to us too disparaging, does our historian describe the origin and progress of the reformation ; nor does he pay due respect to the principles on which it was founded, and to the character of the persons who were the principal

agents in accomplishing it. We are ready to acknowledge, that the collateral circumstances above recited rendered its advances more rapid and more extensive ; but we cannot allow that it did not owe much of its success to reason and reflection. But whatever may be our opinion of the primary causes that produced it, its influence on the minds and manners of mankind, on the state of society in general, and on the interests of liberty, religion and virtue, has been eminently and extensively beneficial. Luther had no sooner began to attack the papal supremacy, than the charm which had bound mankind for so many ages, was broken at once. The human mind, which had long continued as tame and passive, as if it had been taught to believe whatever was taught, and to bear whatever was imposed, roused of a sudden, and became inquisitive, mutinous, and disdainful of the yoke to which it had hitherto submitted. The reformation, wherever it was received, increased that bold and innovating spirit to

which it owed its birth. Men who had the courage to overturn a system, supported by every thing which can command respect or reverence, were not to be overawed by any authority, how great or venerable soever. After having been accustomed to consider themselves as judges of the most important doctrines in religion, to examine these freely, and to reject without scruple, what appeared to them erroneous, it was natural for them to turn the same daring and inquisitive eye to government, and to think of rectifying whatever disorders or imperfections were discovered there. As religious abuses had been reformed in several places without the permission of the magistrate, it was an easy transition to attempt the redress of political grievances in the same manner. But though the spirit of innovation, that was excited and promoted by the reformation, might in some instances prove the occasion of turbulence and tumult, the good that eventually accrued from its operation far exceeded the partial and temporary evil

that resulted from it. The prevalence of this spirit was so general, that it must have been excited by causes that were natural, and of powerful efficacy ; and the consequences that flowed from them must have been as important and interesting as the causes that have produced them. The kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, England and Scotland, and almost one half of Germany, threw off their allegiance to the pope, abolished his jurisdiction within their territories, and gave the sanction of law to modes of discipline and systems of doctrine, which were not only independent of his power, but hostile to it. Nor was this spirit of innovation confined to those countries which openly revolted from the pope ; it spread through all Europe, and broke out in every part of it with various degrees of violence. It penetrated early into France and made such rapid progress, that the number of converts to the opinions of the reformers was so great, their zeal so enterprising, and the abilities of their leaders so

distinguished, that they soon ventured to contend for superiority with the established church, and were sometimes on the point of obtaining it. In all the provinces of Germany which continued to acknowledge the papal supremacy, as well as in the Low Countries, the Protestant doctrines were secretly taught, and had gained so many proselytes, that they were ripe for revolt, and were restrained merely by the dread of their rulers from imitating the example of their neighbours, and asserting their independence : hence in Spain and Italy, symptoms of the same disposition to shake off the yoke appeared. The pretensions of the Pope to infallible knowledge and supreme power were treated by many persons of eminent learning and abilities with such scorn, or impugned with such vehemence, that the most vigilant attention of the civil magistrate, the highest strains of pontifical authority, and all the rigour of inquisitorial jurisdiction, were requisite to check or extinguish it. The defection of so many op-

ulent and powerful kingdoms from the papal see was a fatal blow to its grandeur and power, and produced a very considerable diminution of its revenues. It likewise obliged the Roman pontiffs to adopt a different system of conduct towards the nations which continued to recognize their jurisdiction, and to govern them by new maxims, and with a milder spirit. They became afraid of venturing upon such exertion of their authority as might alarm or exasperate their subjects, and excite them to a new revolt. Hence it happens, that the Popes, from the era of the reformation, have ruled rather by address and management than by authority. They have been obliged not only to accommodate themselves to the notions of their adherents, but to pay some regard to the prejudices of their enemies. In process of time, and before the convulsions which have lately agitated Europe, they sunk almost to a level with the other petty

princes of Italy ; and they hardly retain any shadow of the temporal powers which they anciently possessed. Nevertheless whilst the reformation had been fatal to the power of the Popes, it has contributed to improve the church of Rome both in science and in morals. Many motives have arisen out of the reformation, and the existence of two rival churches, which have served to engage the Catholic clergy to apply themselves to the study of useful science, and to pay a strict attention to the manners of their clergy. In those countries where the members of the two churches have mingled freely with each other, or have carried on any considerable intercourse, either commercial or literary, an extraordinary alteration in the ideas, as well as in the morals, of the Popish ecclesiastics is manifest. The beneficial influence of the reformation has not only been felt by the clergy, and the inferior members of the Roman Catholic church ; but it has ex-

tended to the see of Rome, and to the sovereign pontiffs themselves, whose character, at a later period, has been very different from that of several of their predecessors. Many of them have been conspicuous for the virtues becoming their high station; and by their humanity, their love of literature, and their moderation, have made some atonement to mankind for the crimes of those who in former times occupied their places. Thus the reformation has eminently contributed to increase purity of manners, to diffuse science, and to inspire humanity. With the progress of the reformation we may also connect a variety of other important benefits, both to individuals and to society; and as they pertain to the investigation of truth and the improvement of science, to the promotion of liberty both civil and religious, to the diffusion of knowledge and virtue, and to the advancement of the best interests of mankind. But the details of the advan-

tages resulting from the reformation to nations and private persons, to religion in general, and genuine Christianity in particular, would far exceed the limits to which we are confined.

W. G.





**This book is under no circumstances to be
taken from the Building**

[illegible]

